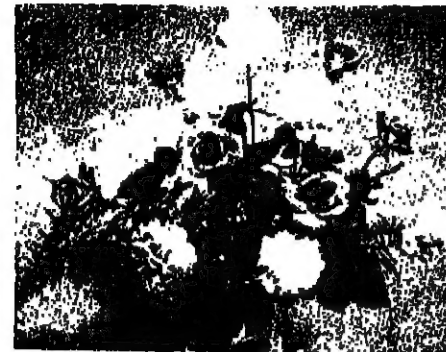


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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Not so 'fail-safe'

The Secretary of the Electric Power Engineers' Association reported claiming to an IAEA Conference that reactors are "fail-safe". The reactor operators, however, are not so sure. The one hand with British reactors on the other.

When a pressure tube of a Candu reactor fails — as they have — it does so slowly over a period of hours or even days, which is very long by comparison with the time required to operate the reactor controls. The reactor operators have plenty of warning.

If the pressure vessel of a British reactor were to fail, it would do so rapidly. It would go ping. The period of failure would be a fraction of a second, much less than

High-altitude hypoxia

We have read recently of people who climb high mountains without a source of oxygen. Insufficient oxygen and extreme cold are two important hazards encountered in the Himalayas. The brain is sensitive to insufficient oxygen (hypoxia) and can easily be permanently damaged. In contrast, a very low body temperature (hypothermia) can actually protect the subject against hypoxia.

A situation where hypoxia is possible and well known to cause permanent brain damage is that encountered by an infant (however husky) during a prolonged and difficult labor. The phrase "Mount Everest in utero" has been used by physiologists.

Is it really sporting to struggle valiantly against hypoxia? The Oxford English Dictionary defines a sport as a "pleasant pastime", and the Random House Dictionary as "an athletic activity requiring skill or physical prowess". Train-

Tied up in knots

I agreed with most of what your reviewer, Christopher Hitchins, had to say about Baden-Powell and the Scout movement. However, I must take exception to his final paragraph.

Mr Hitchins can tie sheepskins in his sleep until he snores; he'll never join two ropes of different

will become safer as we learn from accidents. The same has been true of the automobile, and our society has become irrevocably geared to it despite a huge toll of road accidents and massive pollution. The consequences of getting "hooked" to atomic energy may be more far-reaching.

R. V. Heske, Lower Stone, Berkeley, Gloucestershire.

Experts seem to have returned from the IAEA conference with the optimistic view that the benefits of atomic energy outweigh the danger after all, and that the thing

ing can only raise the tolerated degree of oxygen deficiency very slightly, and does so by increasing the number of red cells in the blood. Even people who have grown up at high altitudes, and have unusually efficient breathing capacities, cannot escape the damage of hypoxicemic blood.

If one accepts all this, then one must believe that struggling into rarified air without a supply of oxygen is not a sport but an effort to defy nature with a crude experiment in physiology, the results of which are already well known, and likely to be sad.

Richard L. Day, MD, Lakeview Terrace, Westbrook Ct.

1. West J. Do clouds in extreme altitude cause brain damage? The Lancet, Aug. 18, 1986, page 327.
2. Gerson WF. Review of Medical Physiology, 2nd Edition, 1967, page 187. Pub. by Lange Medical Publications, Los Altos, Calif.
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sizes with it. The knot that he's searching through his boyhood dreams for is the sheet bend, also known in Yorkshire and Lancashire mills as the weaver's knot.

M. Neil Copeland, PO Box 99, Armadale, Nova Scotia.

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

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will become safer as we learn from accidents. The same has been true of the automobile, and our society has become irrevocably geared to it despite a huge toll of road accidents and massive pollution. The consequences of getting "hooked" to atomic energy may be more far-reaching.

Hypocrisy and the monster we have created

Your correspondents are jumping all over Brian Thomas (Letters, August 10) for allegedly theorising that the Greenpeace photographer's death in Auckland last July was his own fault or caused by harbour authorities' negligence. He didn't. He ironised broadly about the very selective emphasis of a Le Monde reporter's article which left precisely that impression — that the poor chap unfortunately did himself in. Thomas just kicked the door in and let the implicitly bitter parody run free.

The review of the book "Inquest into three state secrets" (Le Monde section, September 7) stating that everybody who was anybody in France except Prime Minister Fabius (but including President Mitterand) knew in advance about the attack and lied about it afterwards, along with the avowal by the previous head of France's secret services on a recent television interview that those services had been behind numerous Greenpeace tribulations anywhere from the bowels of the engine room to the bowels of the crew, leaves us with an image of malign monkeying and paranoid vengefulness mind-bogglingly at odds with the dignified, solemn *honneur* at the base of the gloire of this patrie, which is the compulsively polished image presented for consumption at home as well as abroad.

All major nations seem enmeshed in such deceit and hypocrisy, forced continually to feed and placate the insatiable monster they have created — the "mobile" image of the nation. Greenpeace and kindred groupings represent a very different way of being and of doing. It is a far, far better one.

Michael Randolph,
St Paul Cap de Joux,
France.

M. Neil Copeland,
PO Box 99,
Armadale, Nova Scotia.

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More than mere boisterousness?

I was surprised to read (September 7) that a steward at Pontypriid Rugby Football Club could sum up a case of knocking someone unconscious on the rugby field with the macho statement: "These boys are boisterous, but they are not dirty players."

One might deduce from this comment that punching people in the face in Welsh rugby is commonplace, so what the hell!

I hesitate as a mere Englishman to intervene in a debate that concerns the giants of the principality and only do so because I can speak with personal authority. Some years ago when playing for Esher RFC against Ebbw Vale, I had two teeth knocked out. The

blow was deliberate. I was winning the ball in the line-out, so the Ebbw Vale forwards who had a plan for every eventuality, thought they'd put an end to that. One put my head in an arm-lock and the other knocked my teeth out the next time I caught the ball. It was beautifully and swiftly executed; caught me a bit by surprise in fact. However I carried on playing. Ebbw Vale won the match.

At the end of it all, I asked myself why in God's name those boisterous boys didn't listen more to the preachings of their local MP, Michael Foot, on the need to distribute the milk of human kindness more widely. It was a silly thought because I'd forgotten that rugby is a religion in Wales. So the Pontypriid steward is right. It's got nothing to do with dirty play.

Brian Sedgemore, MP,
(Lab, Hackney S and
Shoreditch),
House of Commons.

Role of violence in Rosa's revolution

Derek Malcolm (September 7) is quite right to say that "No film in London at the moment has more serious intent or raises more important questions" than does Margaretha von Trotta's Rosa Luxemburg.

So it is unfortunate that his short review of this excellent film contains two major errors which will mislead readers.

He claims that Karl Liebknecht, who was murdered on the same night as her in January 1919, was "her lover." This just is not true. They were both murdered because they worked closely together in opposing the First World War and in calling for revolution after it.

He refers to Rosa as a "pacifist." This too is misleading. She was a vehement opponent of imperialist war and hated any sort of bloodshed. But she was also a major Marxist thinker who insisted that war is a product of the division of society into classes.

Her most ambitious work, The Accumulation of Capital, set out to explain in this way the drive to war that ultimately led to World War One. Her conclusion was that the horror of war could not be ended without the forcible overthrow of existing society.

Such reasoning meant she was not an opponent of all violence. In Warsaw in the revolutionary winter of 1905-06 she argued that the next step in the fight against Tsarism required socialists to "arm the most advanced workers" and to

Look, no feet

In Moscow in April I paid £1.85 for a ticket to see the Bolshoi Ballet, struggled through a crowd of Muscovites asking for tickets, bought my programme for 25p, and watched "Giselle" from the top tier of the beautiful Bolshoi theatre. From this bird's-eye view the tops of the dancers' heads were in view, but I could see the whole of the performance and the orchestra.

In Manchester in August I paid £32 for a ticket to see the Bolshoi Ballet, struggled through a crowd of Mancunians, all protesting, bought a programme for £3 and watched "Divertissement" from the front row of the stalls of the Palace theatre. From this view virtually under the stage, the feet of the dancers were seldom visible and only half the stage could be seen.

D. J. Stewart,
Wiltshire, Cheshire.

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Unrewarded effort

In answer to Mr Shaw's letter concerning expatriates and the vote (August 17) I would like to point out that the very reason most people go abroad is that Government policies make it almost impossible to earn a good standard of living in Britain. All too often many years of hard study and work go unrewarded and we are left with little choice but to look elsewhere.

If by having the vote those of us abroad could help to elect a Government committed to higher employment, greater reward and less inhibiting tax, you would find that the (invariably highly qualified) expatriates would flood home and give the economy the boost it needs.

Angela Carter,
Geneva.

NHS casualties

While in the casualty department of Hamel Hospital, I observed the nurses cutting patients' bed-sheets into triangles to replace the slings which I was told, the NHS is unable to provide.

Is this what is meant by Government?

N. Condon,
Hitchin, Hertfordshire.

"prepare plans for street fighting". In a similar vein, she warned Berlin in December 1919 that the ruling class would be prepared to use the bloodiest means to maintain its grip on society. "It is madness to believe that capitalists will ever submit to the verdict of socialist parliamentary majority and abandon their property, their profits and their privilege of exploiting their fellow men." And she argued, the mass of workers has to be prepared to use "revolutionary violence" against the ruling minority.

What she did, rightly, point out was that the violence of the majority of society fighting for emancipation would be on a much smaller scale than that used by minority ruling classes.

Her warnings were vindicated by subsequent events. The failure of the German working class movement forcibly to disarm the upper classes in 1919 not only permitted the murder of Rosa and many of her comrades, it also left intact the forces that put Hitler in power in 1933.

Margaretha von Trotta's film focuses attention on the life of a very great and inspiring woman. But it would be completely to distort the meaning of that life to forget that Rosa came down decisively on one side against the other in the argument over reform or revolution.

Chris Harman,
London E3 3LH.

Rhodes's Oxbridge degrees

Your reviewer of the book "Oxford and the Black Man's Burden" (August 24) states: "Rhodes never really knew Oxford at first hand. His honorary degree, like that of Mrs Thatcher was opposed by some dons."

This, I am afraid, is but another item of disinformation on Rhodes. He was admitted as an undergraduate to Oxford in 1873. After keeping his terms desultorily over a number of years he took a pass degree in 1881. An honorary degree came later.

I. E. Butler,
Julian Crescent,
Port Elizabeth, SA.

Unrewarded effort

In answer to Mr Shaw's letter concerning expatriates and the vote (August 17) I would like to point out that the very reason most people go abroad is that Government policies make it almost impossible to earn a good standard of living in Britain. All too often many years of hard study and work go unrewarded and we are left with little choice but to look elsewhere.

If by having the vote those of us abroad could help to elect a Government committed to higher employment, greater reward and less inhibiting tax, you would find that the (invariably highly qualified) expatriates would flood home and give the economy the boost it needs.

Angela Carter,
Geneva.

While in the casualty department of Hamel Hospital, I observed the nurses cutting patients' bed-sheets into triangles to replace the slings which I was told, the NHS is unable to provide.

Is this what is meant by Government?

N. Condon,
Hitchin, Hertfordshire.

Markets recovering their nerve

WALL STREET rallied on Monday amid reassuring noises from administration officials who said that there was now hope that Japan and West Germany would reduce their interest rates. London share prices also recovered strongly after the rout at the end of last week, which was almost entirely a response to what was going on in the US. By the close Wall Street showed a rise of 8.86 points at 1787.57.

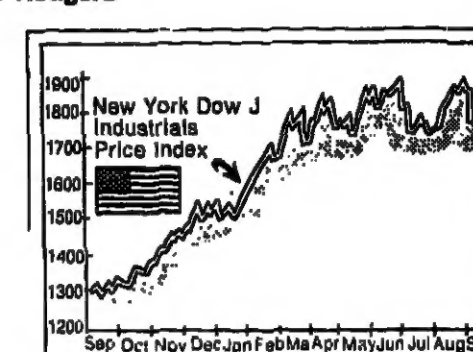
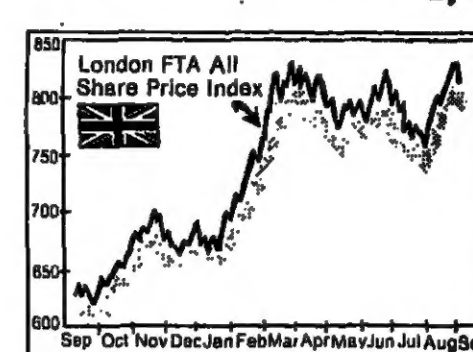
In the aftermath of last week's huge losses, dealers had regained confidence over the weekend and the balance of opinion as the London markets opened appeared

By our Financial Staff

to be that the collapse had gone far enough. It had started on the Thursday with the Dow Jones dropping 88.62 points to 1792.89, the biggest absolute fall in financial history. In percentage terms, however, the fall was the third largest drop since records have been kept, at 4.6 per cent far short of the 12.8 per cent fall as the great crash began on October 28, 1929. Small investors joined the professionals on the Friday. At the close then the Dow Jones was 84.17 points down at 1758.72.

Why good news worries Wall Street

By Peter Rodgers



NOT long ago a prominent headline in the Financial Times said, "Rise in new jobs dims Wall Street." It was a very accurate description of what had gone on in the New York markets the night before and not a case of thick-skinned editing.

A rise in employment means that the economy is recovering. This reduces the pressure on the US Federal Reserve to cut interest rates, which it would normally do if it wanted to stimulate activity and produce more jobs.

But if interest rates are no longer expected to fall, and even worse if there is a prospect that they may rise in order to prevent too rapid a recovery of the economy, then bond prices automatically fall. Their prices are inversely linked to the cost of money.

Share prices also tend to fall in these circumstances because of the short-term effect of higher interest rates on profits. So inside the market it is perfectly natural to worry about rising employment because it will cost investors money.

Only the narrowest professional dealer could miss the irony of a headline which proclaimed as bad news something which in the world outside the markets is regarded as wonderful.

The news of more growth ought to be good for companies and on the face of it should have the opposite effect. But the processes at work are never easy to pin down: somewhere lurking in the market psychology are a raft of fears about higher inflation, the trade and budget deficits, and the value of the dollar, which particularly affects foreign investors who now play a big part on Wall Street.

So investors seize on one aspect of the news, higher interest rates and somehow that focuses out all their lurking phantasies so that they sell like mad. In other circumstances, if for example the market has seen but not really understood or assimilated a series of good news items, those same indications of better growth could have exactly the opposite effect, and trigger a rise in the stock market.

Where Wall Street is concerned, new technical developments have made it even more difficult to pin down the precise reasons for sudden market movements. One theory going round last week was that attempts to curb the increasing

popularity of program trading — in which buy and sell orders are automatically triggered by computer programs which react to market indicators — had made the fall far worse than it should have been.

Program trading is regarded as bad because it makes the instincts of Wall Street even more herd-like and chaotic. The Securities and Exchange Commission recently introduced new timing rules to curb it but the program trigger points may have been brought forward last week to avoid the SEC's restrictions.

But program trading only exaggerates what is happening already. It is crystal clear from the graphs that Wall Street, as well as the London stock market which it closely influences, has lost the panache it displayed during the boom earlier in the year. Since then there has been a series of shake-outs when prices have dropped very sharply in both markets but recovered again, to stumble on through the summer across an uneven plateau.

Sitting in New York or London, analysts and investors can count more negative signs than the positive ones such as the encouraging US figures for housing starts. There was the resurgence in gold and platinum prices a few weeks ago, a classic sign of inflationary fears. There are rises in commodity prices, including oil, which also make higher inflation likely.

There is the much touted possibility that the dollar, which recovered slightly because of higher interest rates, could collapse again, a fear stoked up by the serious disagreement between the US administration and Germany over the (invariably highly qualified) expatriates would flood home and give the economy the boost it needs.

There is also a very strong feeling that, even before the latest modest indication that economic performance is not quite as bad as it looks, the Federal Reserve has gone as far as it dared in priming the pump with lower interest rates, and may even have overdone it.

What it adds up to is a hot-potch of good and bad which leaves no room for optimism and suggests that the balance of probability is that share prices will turn downwards. But it has not yet turned

Minister quizzed on banning Star Wars book

A BOOK critical of the Star Wars progress and Britain's participation in it has been abruptly withdrawn by the publishers, and ministers have been asked to explain whether the decision was a result of pressure from the Government.

The book — Star Wars, a Question of Initiative — was to have been launched this week by John Wiley, a specialist computer publishing house based in Chichester, Sussex.

The author, Mr Richard Ennals,

Minister quizzed on banning Star Wars book

of Lord Ennals, the former Minister, resigned from his research job earlier this Friday. He says he was asked to abandon the book.

A well-publicised book, once arranged for Wiley to be cancelled, and thousands of copies of the book will be pulped. Ennals said he was not given any reason for the decision, and said that the book had been passed by the publishers' lawyers.

Much of the book is a detailed analysis of computer technology. The central thesis, Mr Ennals said, is that SDI could not work. He described it as celestial snooker.

The book also reflects widespread misgivings in Whitehall, including the Department of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Defence, about SDI and the implications for British research and universities of the secret memorandum of understanding signed by Mr Michael Heseltine, the former defence secretary, and Mr Caspar Weinberger, his US opposite number.

There is serious concern among scientists and civil servants that the Pentagon and US companies are out to poach British scientists and impose tight controls on the transfer of technology and patent rights.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting Rates September 19	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.2722-2.2794	2.2800-2.2836
Austria	21.22-21.33	21.27-21.41
Belgium	82.45-82.56	82.01-82.16
Canada	2.053-2.0559	2.0603-2.0678
Denmark	11.49-11.51	11.53-11.54
France	9.92-9.93	9.83-9.86
Germany	3.094-3.098	3.03-3.04
Hong Kong	11.51-11.52	11.53-11.54
India	1.1031-1.1041	1.1088-1.1076
Italy	2.001-2.007	2.004-2.103
Japan	229.55-230.35	228.98-229.86
Netherlands	2.453-2.455	2.453-2.45
Norway	10.94-10.95	10.94-10.96
Portugal	215.78-217.41	216.10-220.80
Spain	168.89-169.17	168.28-200.00
Sweden	10.24-10.25	10.22-10.24
Switzerland	2.451-2.454	2.45-2.47
USA	1.4815-1.4825	1.4750-1.4785
ECU	1.4450-1.4465	1.4400-1.4435

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The unexpected wildlife in London

by Ralph Whitlock

"THE autumn migration is starting," a colleague observed to me on a day in August. "This morning I saw the first wheatears on the downs."

My mind needed a little adjusting to this statement of fact, for when I served my apprenticeship in bird-watching there were wheatears on the downs all through the summer. Dozens of them nested in the innumerable rabbit-holes.

That same week I met a photographer looking for chalkhill blue butterflies and feeling very pleased at having at last located a colony. Had it been in the 1930s he would not have had far to search. I remember that as the binder circled the barley-fields on our downlands farm the air would be alive with blue butterflies — chalkhill and adonis blues as well as the common and small blues. But the downs where these and so many other creatures flourished have been ploughed, and the wheatears no longer nest there, while the chalkhill blues are confined to a few colonies.

The picture, however, is not one of unrelieved gloom, as I was reminded the other day by a new book, *Wild in London* (published this autumn by Michael Joseph at £8.95). David Goode, the author, is Head of the London Ecology Unit, so he could hardly be more knowledgeable on his subject. My own introduction to the natural history of London was the splendid and comprehensive volume, *London's Natural History*, which an old colleague of mine, Richard Pitter, prepared for publication in 1945. So it is highly instructive to learn what has been happening in the metropolis during the past forty

years. And not in London alone, for similar patterns can probably be traced in most large cities. The parallels with events in the countryside, too, are easy to trace. For me the most interesting chapter is the final one, on the theme of *Losses and Gains*. And how encouraging to see that the author needs only three pages to cover the losses but 29 to deal with the gains.

Leaving aside the species, such as the raven, red kite, polecat, and pine marten, which disappeared from London centuries ago, the author pinpoints the rook as one bird which has failed to adapt itself to urban life. Early this century rooks were nesting in hundreds of thousands on the roof of the old St. Dunstons Church, but they are too dependent on farmland for food and now there are no rookeries in central London.

It is a very long time since a nightingale sang in Berkeley Square, or anywhere near it, though in the 1940s it was still common in the outer environs, as, for instance, Richmond, Norwood, and Epping, and just over a hundred years ago Richard Jefferies enjoyed listening to nightingales in Surbiton.

The disappearance of otters, red-backed shrikes and wrenwicks are part of a nationwide decline, the reasons for which are still controversial. In my father's day — nearly a hundred years ago — the red-backed shrike was common enough in rural Wiltshire to have a vernacular name — the "High mountain sparrow" — but I have not seen the bird for many years. On the credit side of London's wildlife balance sheet crows, magpies, jays and starlings feature

prominently. Starlings roosting on tall buildings in central London are such a well-known feature of the city that it is surprising to be reminded that the habit has developed only within the past hundred years. W. H. Hudson noted its beginnings in the autumn of 1896 and 1897.

The familiar gulls, too, first became regular winter visitors only a hundred years ago, and W. H. Hudson again observed that a severe winter (1887/1888) was largely responsible for their venturing so far up-river. A recent count of gulls in mid-winter 1983 in the London area resulted in a total of over 290,000, of which 75% were black-headed gulls. Over the past twenty or thirty years, however, herring gulls have moved in and are now nesting regularly on rooftops in Whitehall and Westminster.

When for a few years in the late 1980s I lived in London I saw kestrels regularly in Marylebone Road and Portland Place, and I knew the location of several nests on ledges of tall buildings. David Goode says there are now more than 100 pairs nesting every year within Greater London. In the 1890s W. H. Hudson was extremely pessimistic about the kestrel ever returning to London, from which it had been banished by persecution.

Of smaller birds the blackbird has, as elsewhere, become thoroughly adapted to urban life, as have hedge-sparrows (dunnocks), blue tits, great tits and greenfinches, though chaffinches seem to have declined. The increase in greenfinches is a phenomenon noticeable in almost

every town and village.

Pied wagtails, which are intelligent birds (have you ever seen a pied wagtail as a road casualty? I never have), have been quick to appreciate the advantage of cities as warm winter roosts. They now have well established roosts in plane trees, holly bushes, laurels and suchlike places in the very heart of the City. The author provides an excellent picture of wagtails roosting in a small maple tree in a shopping precinct and records that no fewer than 3,025 were counted, on a date in November 1978, going in to roost in the Civic Hall in Orpington.

David Goode naturally has much to say about urban foxes and badgers, and he notes, too, that collared doves, black redstarts and little ringed plovers have colonised the capital during the present century. What is more surprising is to find a page or so devoted to the ring-necked parakeet. "In the late 1980s," he writes, "people suddenly became aware of wild parakeets in a number of London suburbs." Now apparently they are widespread and well established as a breeding species. Out of the breeding season they collect in flocks for foraging and roosting. Obviously they originated from birds escaped from aviaries. Another unexpected colonist is the Mandarin duck, which is nesting in the wild along many of London's tributary rivers and is gradually edging its way deeper and deeper into London.

The message is encouraging. Clearly an increasing number of wild creatures is finding urban life not only supportable but even attractive, thanks to more tolerant attitudes by humans.

L. P. Samuels

A COUNTRY DIARY

CHESHIRE: On the Common, the heather is in full bloom, the blackberries are ripening, and the rowans are hung with great swags of scarlet fruit. The long spell of damp weather has brought out scores of toadstools of many kinds, including tawny grisettes, yellow-capped russula clavaria with their thick white stems, funnel-shaped elcocybe floccida, and, in the oakwood, long-stemmed collybia dryophila. More attractive than these, however, were the numerous fly agarics with their scarlet caps flecked with white, the toadstools so beloved by the illustrators of fairy tales. A roadside tree-stump was completely covered by a huge colony of fan-shaped grifola gigantea comprising scores of overlapping individuals. Their short stems were so tough that a penknife was necessary to detach one of them.

Foxes continue to venture into populated areas. Recently a friend disturbed an adult specimen in his allotted close to the town centre. The animal became stuck in a narrow opening in the fence and before he could do anything, his dog leapt upon the fox, seized it by the back of its neck and killed it with one savage shake. The dog is a beautiful and gentle creature, a doberman-retriever cross. It had never been known to kill anything before.

The fauna and flora of insanities is a fascinating subject, so I was most interested to hear from a reader of a charm of goldfinches in the trees of a little garden and a pair of carrion crows on the top of a bank building in central Manchester.

L. P. Samuels

Keeping the Alliance together

The Week in Britain by James Lewis

SOCIAL Democrats went some way at their annual conference this week towards smoothing out the differences between themselves and their Alliance partners, the Liberals, on the thorny subject of nuclear defence, which suggests an awareness by both parties that this year's conferences could well be the last before a general election.

The Social Democrats, led — and largely dominated — by the former Labour Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, have always been in favour of an independent British nuclear deterrent and, therefore, of replacing the ageing Polaris submarine fleet. Liberals, with far more unilateralist members, want nothing to do with British nuclear weapons even though their leader, Mr David Steel, favours a more compromising attitude in the interest of Alliance unity.

The youthful SDP, however, is growing up and learning that conferences can be stage managed. Some clever management this week ensured majority support for an Alliance commission report which simply leaves open the question of replacing Polaris pending a detailed policy agreement with the Liberals before the general election campaign.

It was not entirely to the liking of the SDP's defence spokesman, Mr John Cartwright, who did not want the question left open. "If we are seen to be putting our political interests before the defence of Britain we shall not get the confidence of the public, and nor shall we deserve it," he said. The Liberals will doubtless say something similar, if more rudely, at their conference later this month. Both sides, however, will be aware that unilateralism is less of a vote-loser than it was in 1983 and, according to the latest opinion poll, now commands little to 44 per cent of the electorate.

Mr Steel, in pragmatic mood, urged his SDP allies not to agonise too much over the shape of the partnership. Labour was lost irretrievably to the left; the Government exhausted and dehumanising, he said. The Alliance offered the only real choice between an unreconstructed Labour Party and a burnt-out Conservative Government.

Mrs Thatcher, perhaps also limbering up for an election, carried out a minor reshuffle of her ministerial ranks mainly designed, it seemed, to reassure the right wing of the party. Seven ministers, mostly of a dampish disposition, were dismissed, two left voluntarily, and another, Mr Peter Morrison, left ministerial office to become second deputy chairman of the Conservative Party.

The most notable promotion was that of Mrs Edwina Currie, a scold in the Prime Minister's own image, to be Under Secretary for Health. Most of those dismissed — Timothy Raison (Foreign Office), Barney Hayhoe (Health) and George Young (Environment) — were evidently guilty of failing to "sell" some of the less popular Thatcherite policies.

Mrs Thatcher pleased her right-wingers with the announcement that British Airways is, at last, to be sold off. Sale of the airline, always viewed by the Prime Minister as an important symbol of her privatisation programme, had to be shelved earlier this year because of problems with the United States about air services agreements. But a new agreement — Bermuda Two — has been negotiated and BA will be floated on the stock market in January or February. It is expected to fetch around £800 million, which is about £200 million down on earlier estimates.

The sale is being timed to cash in on the euphoria likely to surround the November flotation of

British Gas. That will be the largest privatisation of all and the Government machinery is being geared up to ensure that the flotation is as great a success as the sale of British Telecom.

The Treasury was well pleased with the August inflation figures which showed an annual rate, unchanged from July, of 2.4 per cent. This compares with an underlying rise in earnings which is still put at 7.5 per cent. There is a belated realisation, however, that different social groups experience different inflation rates. People like the low paid and pensioners, for instance, who are less likely to have cars and therefore do not benefit from lower petrol prices, claim that the prices of the goods they consume have gone by 4.6 per cent.

A force of 600 police had to be deployed to quell disturbances which broke out in the St Paul's area of Bristol in the wake of a police operation against suspected illegal trafficking in drugs and alcohol. Over a period of two days, gangs of mainly black youths used bottles, stones and knives in attacks on police and also tried to barricade a street with hijacked vehicles. Nine police officers were

injured, one seriously, and 80 people were arrested.

The St Paul's area, which featured in the inner-city riots of 1981, is said by the police to account for 70 per cent of the city's total of street robberies. The deputy chief constable of Avon and Somerset, Mr Jim Sharples, said: "We have the backing of the community in St Paul's. Our action is not against them but against a lawless element which refuses to be policed."

The Government introduced a new system of fixed penalty tickets to cover 260 different motoring offences in an attempt to reduce the workload, and delay, in magistrates' courts. Until now, fixed penalties (of £10) have been restricted to parking offences. As from next month, motorists will have the choice of paying £12 for minor infringements or £24 for endorser offences such as speeding. The amounts go up by 50 per cent if fines are unpaid after 28 days.

The extradition process was started against 26 British football supporters alleged to have been involved in rioting at the Heysel stadium in Brussels last year. All are jointly charged, under Belgian law, with the involuntary man-

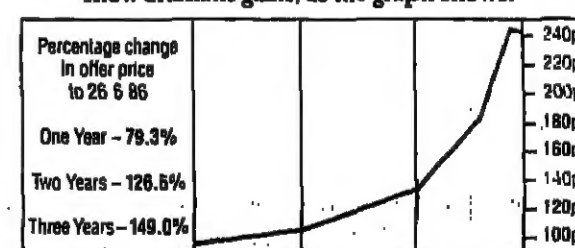
slaughter of Mr Mario Ronschi just before the European cup final kick-off between Liverpool and Juventus. They will appear at Bow Street magistrates' court in London again in November, when it will be decided whether extradition orders against them should be heard collectively or singly.

An inquest on 55 people who died in last year's Manchester air disaster was told of the alarming speed with which fire engulfed a Boeing 737 as it was about to take off on a holiday charter flight to Corfu. The plane was nearing take-off speed when a combustion chamber exploded.

Although the plane was brought to a halt within a minute of the explosion, flames were said to have melted the skin of the Boeing in less than ten seconds. Black smoke filled the cabin and most of the dead succumbed to the toxic fumes. Questions were asked about faults — slow acceleration and slow idling — reported in the Pratt and Whitney engine two days before the disaster and about whether the plane's operators, British Airways, or the engine manufacturers had ever issued warnings that such faults could point to combustion chamber stress.

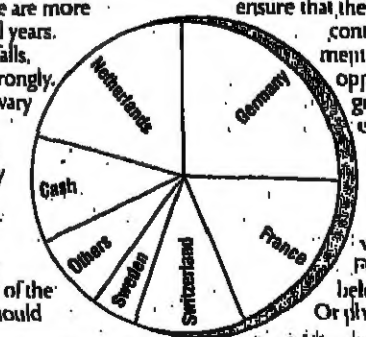
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OBITUARY

Lartigue the photographer

By Michael McNay

WHEN Jacques Henri Lartigue signed his name he often added a little sun, symbol of happiness, source of light. Lartigue himself was a force of nature and his death in Nice last week at the age of 92 deprives photography of one of its great men, a snap-shooter of genius.

Theory never touched his work. Not for him the agonising over whether photography was an art. He painted as well, not too badly, not very well, and may be that got art out of his system. In any case he was only seven when he received his first camera from his father and he wrote then in the diary that he kept in conjunction with his photographs: "Photography is a magic thing."

For Lartigue, cameras never lost their magic. He was a child of rich bourgeois parents and his photography represents the leisure-time pursuits of the middle classes. He

ran through the century from sepia prints to experiments with colour, from the fashionable promenade in the Bois de Boulogne to the international art and film community of the Cote d'Azur.

It was as though Proust had been equipped with a camera, but a Proust with a family adventurous above the ordinary, flyers and motor races. Lartigue retained the innocent eye of childhood and his camera created the myth of a world of innocence, not before the fall, because in Lartigue's world the paradise garden is never absent even if after 1939 it was not quite within camera range, but just around the corner.

In 1979 Lartigue donated his entire collection of work to the French nation, and there is a deeply impressive permanent exhibition of his photographs in the Grand Palais in Paris.

'Pathfinder' Bennett

DONALD "Pathfinder" Bennett, an outstanding figure of his generation in both military and civil aviation, died on Monday, one day after his 76th birthday.

Air Vice Marshall Bennett won the DSO after being shot down while leading a bombing attack on the German battleship Tirpitz. An expert in aerial navigation, he was appointed commander of the RAF's Pathfinder Force which flew ahead of bombers, marking routes with target flares.

Although he quarrelled with

colleagues and was criticised for incurring unnecessary casualties, his drive and energy made a great contribution to the bombing offensive against Germany, particularly in improving his force's navigational standards. Bennett, born in Queensland, Australia, played a leading part with Imperial Airways in developing Empire and Atlantic air routes. The long-distance seaplane record he set from Dundee to Alexandria Bay, South Africa, in 1926, has never been bettered.

THE WEEK

AT least 20 people died and 300 were injured in an earthquake, measuring 6.2 on the Richter scale, which shook the southern Greek port of Kalamata and surrounding villages. Officials reported that the nearby village of Eleochoi was almost totally levelled, while 70 per cent of buildings in the village of Neochori, Vamitsia, and Vamitsia were damaged. The Prime Minister, Mr Papandreu, declared the area a disaster zone and began organising a relief effort. A specialist French medical unit, equipped with search dogs, was sent to the area. More than 30 people were injured in a second tremor two days later which demolished buildings already weakened by the first shock.

TWELVE people were wounded by police fire when a crowd gathered on administrative offices in Sharpeville in the Transvaal to protest at the eviction of rent defaulters. Many residents in Sharpeville and the sister townships are refusing to pay rent in protest at apartheid and local rule by the "collaborating" town council.

Peres-Mubarak summit came too late

By Glenn Frankel
In Jerusalem

LAST week's Alexandria summit conference between Israel's Shimon Peres and Egypt's Hosni Mubarak is likely to be remembered as the summit that came too late — too late in the week to last more than 24 hours, too late in the month to entice Secretary of State George P. Shultz to attend and play the role of catalyst. And, most of all, it came too late in Peres' term in office to create the kind of momentum at home that the politically moderate Israeli premier needs to overcome the deep scepticism and disappointment about the Middle East peace process that afflict his wary countrymen.

That was the main reason why Peres and his aides had desperately sought this summit ever since he became Prime Minister two years ago. They perceived that it would not be possible to reawaken the Israeli public's dormant desire to pursue a peace settlement with the Arab foe without first thawing relations with the one former enemy that has made peace with the Jewish state.

But time has run out for Peres, as he himself acknowledged. "The only common enemy we have discovered over the last 24 hours is the shortage of time," he told reporters on Saturday after concluding the first session in five years between Israel and Egyptian heads of state. "If we could have had a bit more time, I think we could have made more progress."

Peres was referring to the fact that the conference was limited to 24 hours because the Jewish Sabbath began on Friday night and Peres is scheduled to leave for Washington the following Monday. But he could also have been referring to the fact that he is a leader with less than five weeks to go before he must turn over his office to his rightist political rival, Yitzhak Shamir, who opposed the 1979 Camp David peace accord, and is certain to take a harder line on relations with Cairo.

The meeting did succeed in formalising the new thaw in Israeli-Egyptian relations reflected in the resolution of the Tabá border dispute and the return of Egypt's ambassador to Tel Aviv, both announced last week. But it also demonstrated the wide gap between the two sides on the issue that in the long term may have more influence on bilateral relations than any other — the fate of the Middle East's Palestinians.

Mubarak pushed from the start of the talks for a breakthrough on the issue of the Palestinians, 1.3 million of whom live under Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israeli sources said Peres re-

Tension also ran high in Geneva after weekend fighting between Israeli and Lebanese forces. The UN Security Council, Mr George Shultz, visited South Africa next month. The UN Security Council, Mr George Shultz, visited South Africa next month. The UN Security Council, Mr George Shultz, visited South Africa next month.

ALGO GUCCI, the patriarch of the Florence leather-and-sneakers firm, said to be aged 88, was sentenced to one year and one day in jail for tax evasion by a Federal Court in New York. Mr Gucci had pleaded guilty at his trial in January to failing to report at least \$11.8 million in income over six years and has agreed to pay the internal Revenue Service \$7.4 million. It was assumed he would receive a suspended sentence because of his age. He will be eligible for parole after serving four months.

THE pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad (Holy War)

group last week denied responsibility for kidnapping an American citizen, Frank Reed, in West Beirut. The statement was accompanied by a colour photograph of a US hostage, David Jacobson, whom Islamic Jihad admits holding along with two other Americans — journalist Terry Anderson and university dean Thomas Sutherland.

THE Solidarity underground reader, Mr Zbigniew Bujak, released from prison last week under a new Government amnesty, said he believed the union's supporters had a chance to act openly for the first time since the declaration of martial law in 1981.

"There is a certain chance of organising open, or anyway half-open, activity in the country," Mr Bujak said. "This is a big chance for us." But, he warned: "The authorities will be demanding the complete liquidation of Solidarity organisations. They will not tolerate any open proposals for Solidarity."

VIETNAM at the weekend put casualties from last week's Typhoon Casuelle at nearly 400 dead and 2,500 injured, and said it was still counting. The Vietnam

News Agency said that the storm wrecked 600,000 houses and 11,000 schools and hospitals, and sank 200 boats.

AN Iraqi diplomat was killed in Karachi at the weekend when a time bomb hidden beneath the front seat of his car exploded. The Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad identified the dead diplomat as vice-consul Mithal Abdul al-Salam. Earlier in the week Iran fired a long range missile into Baghdad, hitting a poor residential area and killing 21 civilians and injuring 81 others. (Iran prepares for final push — page 8.)

A Libyan official was being interrogated in Pakistan at the weekend on suspicion of involvement in the hijacking of the Pan Am airliner at Karachi airport as a result of which 21 people died. The man named as Sultan al-Tariki, was arrested when he disembarked at Islamabad airport from an internal flight coming from Karachi last Wednesday.

A BOMB went off outside a waiting room at Seoul's Kimpo international airport at the weekend killing five people and injuring 19. The authorities blamed North

Korean agents, or "impure elements" acting for North Korea, for the blast. No foreigners were among the victims.

AUSTRIA'S Chancellor Franz Vranitzky announced the end of the governing coalition between his Socialist Party (SPO) and the small rightwing Freedom Party (FPÖ) and said there would be an early general election on November 23.

THE former Prime Minister of Greece, Mr Konstantinos Karamanlis, a mild-mannered historian whose caretaker government was overthrown by the 1967 colonel's coup, died last week aged 63.

COMMON MARKET foreign ministers meeting in Brussels were in dismay after failing to agree on a package of economic sanctions against South Africa. West Germany and Portugal were putting up strong opposition to including a ban on imports of coal along with the measures already agreed in principle by EEC government leaders at their Hague summit in June.

Bombers take their revenge on Paris

By Campbell Page in Paris

international conference on Middle East peace. Crucial details such as who would participate and what they would talk about were left undecided.

The tragedy, one analyst said, was that both men, given their personal choice, would like to have gone a good deal further. "The amount of resistance between these two people is minimal," said Shimon Shamir of Tel Aviv University, one of the country's leading experts on Egyptian affairs. "But Mubarak was held back by Peres and the PLO and Peres by the Likud."

The new thaw could freeze over again, quickly when the Likud takes over the premiership, said Shimon Shamir, who is no relation to the Likud leader. "Shamir can destroy it very easily," he said, noting that the Likud has long opposed the concept of an international conference. "But he will be reluctant to be seen as doing it," he said. "He'll have to at least go through the motions." — Washington Post.

TERRORISTS on Monday delivered a prompt challenge to the French Government's new anti-terrorist measures when a bomb at police headquarters killed one person and wounded 61 others, three of them seriously.

Police said that one unidentified victim died in hospital several hours after the bomb shattered windows and sent plaster and masonry flying into the large central courtyard of the ornate 19th century Prefecture de Police on the Ile de la Cité.

Rescue services went on red alert after the bomb went off close to Notre Dame. The injured — 31 of them employed at the prefecture, the other 20 members of the public — were rushed to six city hospitals.

The Prime Minister, Mr Chirac, who has declared war on terrorism and promised "draconian re-

pression" against its instigators, learned of the latest attack when lunching with Prince Rainier of Monaco.

An underground group demanding the release of three Arabs held in French jails claimed responsibility for the explosion. In Beirut, a telephone caller claiming to speak for the Committee of Solidarity with Arab and Middle East Political Prisoners asked an

Le Monde reporter on the terrorist threat: 11/12/13

international news agency to "inform (President) Mitterrand and Chirac that the next operation will be at the Elysée" (presidential palace).

Monday's bomb was the fifth terrorist operation (four of them successful) mounted in the capital in the last 12 days by the solidarity committee which is pressing for the release of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, leader of the Armed Revolutionary Lebanese Front.

President Mitterrand said on Monday that the struggle against terrorism was a matter for the entire country. Whoever attacks human life should be pursued ruthlessly.

France's decision to demand entry visas from all visitors except citizens of the EEC and Switzerland met some criticism. The Austrian Foreign Minister, Mr Peter Jancowicz, whose country sends half a million visitors to France each year, described the measure as being "unparalleled in Europe for decades".

The Swedish Foreign Minister, Mr Lennart Bodström, underlined the negative aspect of restricting freedom of movement, while the Moroccan embassy here understood the reason for the French action.

The EEC has responded to France's request for rapid consultations on terrorism by fixing an emergency meeting of the Community's interior ministers on September 25 when practical measures will be discussed.

Italy has asked France to extradite Abdallah, who is serving a four-year jail term for arms possession. His extradition was requested on September 6 so that he could be questioned about alleged involvement in Middle East terror activities in Italy.

Two Lebanese linked Abdallah's group, Abdullah el-Mansouri and Josephine Abdo Sarkis, were sentenced by a Trieste court in June last year to 18 and 15-year jail terms for taking part in terrorist activities.

All Moscow journalists 'potential targets'

By Martin Walker in Moscow

THE American reporter, Mr Nick Daniloff, making his first formal comments to the press since his arrest in Moscow on spying charges, said on Sunday that all journalists in the Soviet Union were potential KGB targets.

Mr Daniloff, aged 51, described his interrogation by security police during 13 days in Lefortovo prison as "mental torture".

He was seized by the KGB on August 30 shortly before completing a 5½ year assignment for US News and World Report magazine.

"What happened to me is a problem that involves all of you," he told a large crowd of reporters who gathered at the commercial office of the US embassy to hear his story after his release from prison on Friday night. "All of you are potential targets for this sort of action."

Mr Daniloff repeated his conviction that he had been framed as part of a Soviet attempt to secure the release of Gennady Zakharov, a Soviet physicist arrested in New

York on August 23 and charged with spying.

He stressed that he was hoping for a new diplomatic solution that would let him return to the US without going through the ordeal of a trial. But a straightforward exchange between Mr Zakharov and Mr Daniloff would look uncomfortably like a victory for the KGB.

"I was not cold, not hungry, and I was not abused in any physical sense," he said of his 13 days in Lefortovo. "The mere fact of being in a cell, isolated, and not allowed legal counsel, interrogated for four hours every day, is a very, very hard burden. I have to tell you that it is mental torture."

He added: "Throughout all of this interrogation I've always said that I was under no instructions from any government agency of the United States, and that all of my actions were on my own initiative or on the request of my magazine."

Voices in the dark

THE phone rings in the Guardian Moscow office at Gruzinsky Pereulok and the voice says in excited Russian that its owner has just flown in from Georgia or Latvia or Siberia and wants to see me again and where can we meet.

In the old days, the days before Nick Daniloff found himself in Moscow's Lefortovo prison after attending such a meeting, I would have gone as soon as possible, looking forward to renewing an acquaintance and hearing some gossip and sharing a convivial meal.

These days, like all of my colleagues in the Western press in Moscow, I will be thinking twice, trying to remember the exact circumstances in which I met the caller. And I will be nagged by the seed of doubt and mistrust that the Daniloff affair has sown in all our minds.

For the moment, most of us are operating under what we call cold war rules. When we go to meet Soviet contacts, we take a colleague along, just in case. We let wives and friends know where we are going, and when we should get back. We shy away from the usual casual meeting places outside Metro stations and on favourite boulevards and try to arrange appointments in our offices, even as we know that walls have ears and phones have tape recorders.

The problem is that over the years, a pattern of working has been forced on the Western press in Moscow that would arouse the suspicions of even the sleepiest KGB men.

Because of our concern for our Russian friends and contacts, we are discreet in our meetings. When we go to their homes, we go by Metro, rather than in our cars with their glaringly distinctive number plates. When we invite them to our homes, which are invariably surrounded by wire fences and floodlights with a police guard on the gate, we drive them fast up to the door and rush them inside, to spare them the problems that can come from a police check on their documents.

We get phone calls that begin "Do you recognise my voice?" and go on to say that Sasha has been arrested, or that Lev has lost his job because he applied for a visa, or that Marina made the trek to the prison but was unable to see our friend.

These days, those dissident stories and contacts make up only a

fraction of a journalist's work in Moscow. But ironically, the growing access that we are getting to Soviet officials and academics and the well-informed people in think-tanks has imposed another kind of caution.

If you are lucky enough to get the home phone number of one of these people, and are on good enough terms to talk frankly, rather than hear an instant replay of that day's Pravda editorial, the etiquette is that you phone from a public call box. Or you meet in private homes or over lunch, or take a stroll together.

It is not that there are secrets being conveyed, but we are still living in the shadow of an older, grimmer Soviet security system, when even to think aloud about policy options in front of a foreign journalist was to risk one's head.

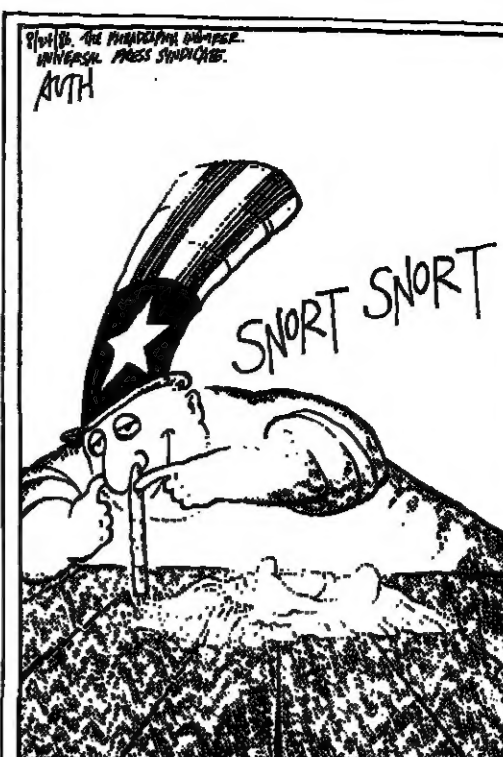
At least, we thought it was only the shadow of the bad old days, but the arrest of Daniloff means that the old nightmares are still with us. This is bad news for us journalists, but in the long run rather worse news for the Soviet system.

The growing openness and frankness that was developing between us and the Soviet policy-making establishment in the 18 months since Gorbachev came to power improved our insights into the way the system worked, and probably gave the Soviet Union a better international image than it has enjoyed for years.

If that process comes to a halt after the Daniloff affair, the Moscow journalism will be back to square one, translating the Soviet press conferences. In short, acting simply as conveyors for the information Moscow wishes to make known.

This, of course, may be what the KGB's heavy mob intended. There are people here who loathe the way the growing number of Western correspondents try to extend the flimsy potential of the Helsinki accords and the Soviet PR machine slowly accepts that its own increasing sickness starts to make Moscow more and more of an international news centre like any other.

We have yet to learn, and it may prove a painful process for some of us, whether the Daniloff case, was a strange aberration, or the start of a new policy. For the moment, I believe it was the former, but like every Western reporter here, I am now living under cold war rules.



The Ron and Nancy anti-drug show

By Michael White in Washington

THE slender gap between America's politics and its show business shrank still further on Sunday, when Ronald and Nancy Reagan appeared together on nationwide television to rally public support in the renewed and increasingly hysterical fight against drug abuse — hours after the First Lady had admitted that her own children had smoked a little dope in college.

It was their first scripted appearance together in a substantial work since Helene of the Navy (1955). As such, it received a one star rating in the New York Times TV guide — along with a reprint of Walt Disney's Dumbo (1941), Winds of War, and a new film about General George Patton (also one star), all of which the Reagans displaced for 30 minutes of prime time on the three main networks.

The broadcast was the high point to date of the five-year crusade against drugs by which Mrs Reagan has established herself as a serious presidential consort rather than a mere clothes horse.

But in recent months the field has been crowded by public figures, from her husband downwards, anxious to make sure that America's affluent middle class does not hold them responsible for the supposed cocaine epidemic of November's mid-term elections.

Like Colonel Gadhafi, or Nicaragua, the current frenzy has the air about it of a brief interlude, after which the professionals will be left to struggle on with the problem much as before.

But, inasmuch as it had a starting point, it was the cocaine-related deaths of two brilliant young athletes, basketball star,

Len Bias, and Don Rogers of the Cleveland Browns football team. The deaths overwhelmed statistics suggesting that the overall drug problem is no worse, and may even be slightly improved.

The media, however, has slighted upon "crack", the fashionably new and inexpensive way to forget 1986 for a while, as a major front-page story. Police and politicians have not been far behind in getting their share of the action.

Only last Thursday, the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives passed a bill over liberal protests about civil rights which would deploy a decidedly reluctant Pentagon in pursuit of drug-traffickers from Latin America, and allow the use of illegally obtained evidence in some cases and the death penalty in others.

Doubts on role of Pretoria's youth camps

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

CONCERN about South Africa's so-called reabsorption camps which provide "education" courses for youths on their release from detention, increased sharply this week with allegations that they are being used to recruit police informers, being run by well-known rightwingers, and that they make be linked with the state security apparatus.

The white parliamentary opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, which is investigating the camps, is expressing suspicion that they are being run by the country's "Joint Management Committees" — regional organisations falling directly under the control of the powerful State Security Council and made up of senior army and police officers as well as local business and community leaders.

Former detainees who have attended the camps have also claimed that they have been taught to identify specific weapons during the "courses", apparently to help them work as informers. The allegations have all been denied by the authorities.

The Joint Management Committees have been set up as part of a "national security management system" to recommend action in dealing with security problems, ranging from specific actions by police or troops to the upgrading of living conditions. Little is known about their operations, but leaked documents disclosed recently that they were involved in attempts to break the township rent boycotts, which have become a major head-

ache for Government. A black Johannesburg newspaper, the City Press, reported at the weekend that the camps were being run by a Pretoria "consultancy" headed by two academics, one of whom was described as a leading "back room strategist" in the ruling National Party, with known rightwing and Defence Force connections.

The newspaper also claimed that the camps may account for the fact that the names of thousands of people who have gone missing in South Africa are absent from lists of detainees issued by the Government. It suggested that, because attendance at the camps is theoretically voluntary, they have been left off the lists.

The Deputy Minister of Education, Mr Sam de Beer, said in a statement last week, that "for a number of years" his department had been offering courses "as part of its normal programmes of youth activities." The youth of many detainees prompted the department "to extend to them an offer to voluntarily attend" such courses after their release.

Mr de Beer said the courses had no "political component" and those attending were free to withdraw at any time. Minors were admitted only with the written permission of their parents or guardians.

A spokesman for the department handling black education said the camps were designed to ease detainees' way back to freedom. Mr Job Shoshani said: "There's nothing sinister about it. I know some

people think we may be involved in brainwashing and indoctrination, but that is far from the truth." Department officials said that they were trying to arrange media access to the camps. They said there were "five or six" camps around the country.

An alleged member of the African National Congress, described as one of the 10 most wanted men in South Africa, has been shot dead in custody. Jacob Mahlangu was killed by detectives on Thursday night while handcuffed and shackled after allegedly snatching a gun and opening fire on his police escort. He was arrested on Wednesday.

Police said Mahlangu was guiding them to arms caches and accomplices in a township near Pretoria when he grabbed a revolver from a detective's holster and began firing. A second detective shot him dead.

Mahlangu was said to have been positively implicated in at least 17 crimes, including two murders and several armed robberies. He was alleged to have confessed that he was a member of the ANC.

Figures released last week suggest that nearly half South Africa's working population may be unemployed. Sociologists at the University of the Witwatersrand described their figures as conservative and claimed that the true unemployment figure for South Africa was between 4.2 and 6 million. The most recent government figure was 519,000.

GENERAL Bernard Rogers, Nato's Supreme Commander in Europe, said last week that he had never known as much antipathy within the Atlantic alliance as had been generated by President Reagan's appeal for allied help in dealing with Colonel Gaddafi, and by the US Administration's desire not to be bound by the provisions of the SALT II nuclear arms control agreement. But after seven years in the European command, he said he was able to explain the "other side of the alliance" to the other side.

General Rogers was speaking at the end of a big NATO exercise in the North Atlantic, which was being held in the US, British and Dutch waters.

Asked whether he anticipated a partial withdrawal of US troops from Europe, he said he did not expect them to remain in their present strength for ever. The danger, he said, was that the withdrawal might take place overnight, prompted by a congressional amendment, which would merely help the Soviet Union in its long-term policy of using military strength to blackmail West Europeans politically.

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Bad mood in Nato

By David Fairclough in Oslo

According to the need to control the Baltic Straits, the US General has poured scorn on opposition parties in Denmark and West Germany which have recently argued the case for a "defensive defence" that would not involve aggressive counter-attacks and deep strikes behind enemy lines.

Without naming the two countries, he said it was "stupid and naive" to imagine that the Warsaw Pact countries could be deterred by assuring them they would never be attacked on their own territory.

A Royal Navy amphibious force led by the assault ship Intrepid and supported by chartered ferries and naval logistics ships has taken part in Exercise Northern Wedding, putting British and Dutch marines ashore in the Norwegian fjords near Oslo to practice their reinforcement role on Nato's northern flanks.

Top laser scientist quits

THE Star Wars scientific fraternity has lost one of its brightest sparks. Mr Peter Hagelstein, a moody brooding genius and inventor of the X-ray laser, has walked out of the programme.

Mr Hagelstein, aged 32, gave no public explanation for his resignation from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, California, the nerve centre of American space weapons research, to become associate professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. However, he never appeared comfortable with his work.

In his book "Star Warriors," Mr

Rogers praised the major contribution and said he hoped the British Government would maintain amphibious forces by replacing the assault ships Fearless and Intrepid, or at least refurbishing them.

The present Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger, has indicated that he intends to maintain some amphibious capability, but he has not yet announced what package of ships he proposes for this purpose in the 1990s.

The Nato Supreme Commander also used his Norwegian press conference to explain how he would like the alliance to handle the contentious issue of a European anti-ballistic missile defence system as an adjunct to the American Star Wars programme.

He said he believed Europe needed its own system to counter shorter-range Soviet missiles like the SS21, 22 and 23, all of which would soon be deployed forward with more accurate conventional as well as nuclear warheads. But he said it was pointless for the United States to try to impose such a system on its European allies.

Schmidt warns of SDI peril

By Victoria Pope in Bonn

THE former West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Schmidt, in a farewell speech to Parliament last week, warned that President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative would dangerously escalate the arms race.

Mr Schmidt said that the development and deployment of anti-missile weapons in space would compel the Soviet Union to counter with their own SDI. "Here a new arms race is waiting to get its starting signal," he said. "But only a dreamer can believe you can arms race the Soviet Union to death."

Mr Schmidt also said that SDI would do nothing to protect Europe from their most immediate nuclear threat, the Soviet Union. "Technically there will be no defence

system to protect us from nuclear medium range and short range missiles, which are deployed on European territory and which are directed by Europeans against Europeans."

He sharply took issue with a decision by the Bonn Government to participate in SDI research and asked: "Why don't you put the SDI issue and the arms reduction issue at the top of the agenda for the Alliance (Nato)?"

Of relations between Washington and the Government of his successor, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, he said: "He who gives the impression of having no objection to the status of protected dependent should not be surprised if he is treated that way."

Mr Schmidt criticised pressure from the top echelon of the Reagan Administration for West Germany to act as a "locomotive" to stimulate the world economy. He said that the US was failing to face the real villain - its budget deficit - which he called a danger to world economies.

Mr Schmidt has announced that he will retire after the national election in January. His political fortunes turned decisively in 1982 when the liberal Free Democrats ended a 13-year coalition with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) to ally with the conservative Christian Democrats following decisive fighting within the SPD over the deployment of new US missiles in West Germany, which the former Chancellor supported.

California learns to live without the work ethic

By Alex Brummer

California, America's richest, most populous and economically important state, is still arousing strong hostility among East Coast intellectuals who steadfastly refuse to grasp its virtues.

"I could live in California," a distinguished Washington journalist told us before the family embarked on a month's sojourn in Montecito (hang next door to Santa Barbara) "for a month." When we returned to the nation's capital singing California's praises, from its almost ideal climate to the blue Pacific and spectacular landscapes, a historian friend barked back "give me New York anytime" with amazing ferocity. No comparison had been asked for.

Such sharp responses, however, fail to recognise the economic, intellectual, social, political and even cultural realities of what the West Coast has become. It has managed to assume these leadership burdens without weighing itself down with the East coast buttoned down, protestant work ethic.

Californians somehow instinctively know when to take off their ties and corsets and unwind - except when they are on the freeway.

The Californian achievement is routinely dismissed on the East Coast. Relaxing in the jacuzzi with a bottle of Santa Ynez Valley Gamay is seen as a wacky way to behave: even though it is wonderfully relaxing. As a result, Californians are regularly dismissed as "air heads" immersed in a hedonistic-materialistic life style whose only interest in literature is the chance to read about macrobiotic cooking.

Like most stereotypes this one badly misses the mark. California has become the testing ground for new ideas and demographics and it is the loss of hegemony which seems to rankle on the East Coast.

Sitting, as it does, at the edge of the Pacific rim, California is uniquely connected to the fastest growing economic region in the world. The until recently robust US dollar and voracious American appetite for capital (to finance the budget deficits) have made the West Coast both a highly attractive market for the Japanese, Taiwanese, South Koreans et al, and an obvious base to set up their manufacturing and distribution.

The economic pull from the Pacific rim is starting to have its impact on Californian politics. Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, who is seeking a second time to become the nation's first black

governor since Reconstruction, is currently in the uncomfortable position of having to adjudicate between blacks and Asians on the city council.

The movement of large numbers of Asians, including Koreans, Vietnamese and Filipinos, into the region has led to a search for greater political clout to match their economic enterprises. This the blacks fear will come at their expense.

The Los Angeles dispute over representation is precursor of similar battles which are likely to be fought over the country, particularly in the sunbelt, as new waves of Central American and Asian immigrants take up residence. The melting pot (like so much else) has moved from New York and Boston to Los Angeles and Houston.

The demographic changes stemming from sharing land and sea borders with an emergent Third World illustrate the pivotal importance which California now exercises in the US's social and political development.

ranked yet. But it is not the first and will certainly sharpen already deep splits within the scientific community.

Although many Livermore scientists believe the programmes to be "intrinsically foolish," said one physicist, Mr Hugh de Witt, "the lab is benefiting right now and will continue to benefit, and everybody's rather happy with marvellous new work."

Mr Hagelstein's case, he went to Livermore wanting to develop X-ray laser for medical purposes but got his arm "twisted" into working on weapons research.

While Washington debates economic sanctions against South Africa and President Reagan chops wood on his ranch, the Californian legislature in Sacramento - with the support of its Reaganite governor, George Deukmejian - votes to divest itself of all its \$11 billion of holdings in the apartheid regime. Not bad moral leadership for a state where by reputation the hot tube melt the brain cells.

This is not to suggest by any means that California has a monopoly on moral fibre, particularly when the problems are closer to home. During our stay, the Santa Barbara city council, which has done a remarkable job in matching adobe and red-tiled roof architecture to its hilly seascapes, creating a Mediterranean effect, paid dearly for a little overzealousness.

In the same way as it refuses to despoil its waterfront with the debris of high rise condominiums and the garish signs which have turned so much of Florida into an abomination, it has been showing the same intolerance to people.

Santa Barbara's beaches, green lawns bordered by flowering bougainvilleas and seafront benches under the shade of the palms, are a wonderful place to bed down - much to the delight of the homeless who have few shelters to retreat to in the city.

The council, in its wisdom, decided to ban sleeping out. After all, if city ordinances can keep the homeless away they can certainly handle a few beach bums. They counted without, however, their most illustrious resident, Ronald Reagan. He both helped create the homeless problem, then made it worse.

The Reagan years have seen a surge in homelessness directly traceable to the administration's effort to slash the role of the federal government in everything but the national defence.

Mr Reagan made matters worse through the simple act of having a ranch near Santa Barbara.

By word association, homeless, Reagan, and Santa Barbara have all come to mean the same. So when the city council met in August to repeal its outdoor sleeping ordinance it did so under the glare of international publicity. If the cameras had only hung around a few more hours, when the chambers were as empty as usual, they would have discovered that while the outdoor sleeping order was repealed it largely confined the homeless to under the freeway and outlawed garbage can rummaging for food. If you can't throw them out, starve them out.

This is the sort of thing which might have attracted the President's attention, given his tendency to reach out and phone someone when he sees a wrong which needs righting. After all, while we were in California, he took time out from his brush clearing to ring an old girlfriend in Carmel, to spry Doris Day, to assure her that Lucky - a presidential pooch evicted from the White House for misbehaving - was doing well on the ranch.

Miss Day, who has become an animal freak, has been near mental breakdown ever since Mr Reagan moved Lucky from the White House and threatened to turn him on Colonel Gaddafi. Larry Speakes assured us that no such call to the city council, on behalf of the homeless (they are only people anyway) interrupted the breakfast of blueberry muffins and the oak cutting ceremonies.

Meanderings, such as these, may lead some people to believe that California does, after all, turn the brain to jelly. But after a week in the damp of Harvard Yard anyone would be yearning for the palm trees and even the homeless (at least they are warm) again.

RECENTLY, the People's Mujahideen, the Iranian opposition movement, broadcast accusations that, in their current built up to the "final" offensive of the Gulf War, the Khomeini regime has conscripted 80,000 teachers, causing such chaos in the school system that, in some parts of the country, classes have been reduced to five hours a week. They broadcast it from their new Iraqi headquarters.

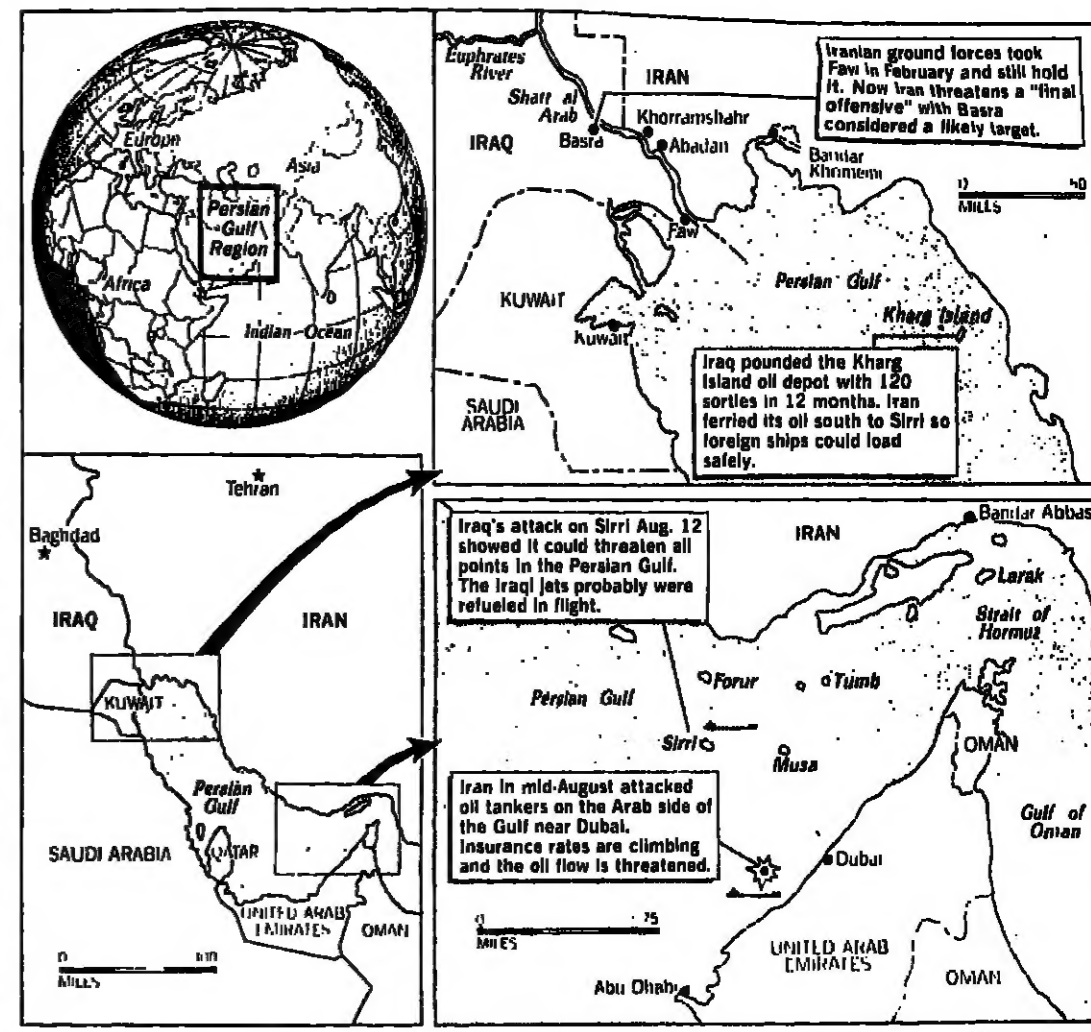
The Baghdad media eagerly take up such charges, calculated to expose the repression, terror and coercion to which the "filthy Persian despots" are reduced in order to sustain their "mad aggressive war". And only three weeks ago, the Iraqis learned, from a rare interview in which he talked about himself to the newspaper *Athar*, that President Saddam Hussein has resolutely forbidden anyone under the age of 18 from volunteering to go to the front. He wanted it to be known that "the only two Iraqis I have sent to the front under that age are my sons Kosai and Oda". His conscience would not permit otherwise.

There is certainly a great deal of moral pressure, and probably coercion, brought to bear on Iraqis to "volunteer," but there is also a great deal of genuine fervour. There is no reticence on the part of the authorities to dramatise the sheer scale of the mobilisation, and few inhibitions about their anxious families with authentic, spontaneous media coverage when the "volunteers" go into action. Iranian television literally goes into battle with the infantry, incurs its own extraordinarily high number of martyrs - and produces some of the most vivid war footage ever recorded.

The recent despatch of such crews to the front but one more sign persuading Pentagon analysts that the biggest offensive of the six-year-old struggle is at hand. They have spotted them on their satellite screens.

The complete opposite is true of Iraq, and the contrast explains, perhaps more clearly than anything else, why, after its initial thrust into Iranian territory, Saddam's army, for all its vast superiority in weaponry, has suffered a slow, remorseless erosion of its whole position: why it was driven out, blow by inelectable blow, first from Iranian soil, then in the face of Iran's offensive, from some of its own territory. It is also why, two weeks ago, it was dislodged from some strategic heights in the Kurdish far north and from a key radar platform in the Gulf. And it explains why, when the massed ranks of army, revolutionary guards and irregulars hurl themselves against one of the most expensive, elaborate and sophisticated defences ever constructed - line on line of fortifications, dykes, minefields, inflammable barriers and electrified trenches - they may, this time, achieve that critical breakthrough that will bring Iraq to its knees. Pentagon analysts, who have always tended to underestimate Iran's will and ingenuity in the face of daunting obstacles, no longer discount it.

What all Iraqis must be thinking about, upon hearing of that heinous conscription of 30,000 Iranian teachers, is their own



Iran prepares for the final push

By David Hirst in Beirut

university students - all 250,000 of them - who have been similarly conscripted, and about the ominous significance of so drastic a step which their Government does not announce, let alone dramatise as Iran would surely have done, but surreptitiously contrives.

"After the end of year exams," said a recent visitor to Iraq, "the authorities told the students that they would not get their results until they had done a course of military training. They were all packed off to five camps around the country. Now they have learned that the universities will only reopen on February 16, 1987. All their teachers up to the age of 45 have gone with them."

"You hear almost nothing official about this - only vague references to students taking up arms to defend the country, and occasional interviews with a teacher at one of the camps declaring, enthusiastically, that this was a unique experience in Iraq and the entire Third World - rubbish like that. You have to lie to survive in Iraq: I did it myself before I left."

The standard of training improvised on such a vast scale is apparently as low as one might expect, and last year's graduates from the military academy are reportedly responsible for much of it. But lack of preparation is no reason why, if need be, the cream of Iraqi youth will not be despatched to the front in a desperate

bid to stem an Iranian breakthrough. As for Saddam's two sons, Kosai is at least symbolically present in a camp at Tikrit. "The last time I saw Oda," said the visitor to Iraq, "he was going to play tennis with a 20-man bodyguard. I had to shut up my wife when she expressed her astonishment that he was carrying his own racket."

Iraq already has an estimated one million men under arms, and fighting a defensive war on its own territory, it would have no manpower problem if their morale were no more than reasonable. But everything suggests that it has reached its lowest ebb. The turning point was the army's inability to drive the Iraqis out of the Faw peninsula - something which Saddam had commanded it to do "at all costs" - followed by the fiasco of Mehran. In a classic case of short-term political expediency prevailing over military common sense, Saddam ordered the army to reoccupy this Iranian border town as a bargaining counter for Faw. When it did so - Mehran being scarcely defended - he held victory celebrations in Baghdad. Inevitably, Iran recaptured it six weeks later: reports say the Iraqis surrendered with hardly a fight.

The discontent reaches into the innermost circles of power. Saddam is its prime object. A constant flow of reports from the Arab world's most ferocious dictatorship circulates among the Iraqi diaspora - it now numbers up to 800,000 in Iran, the Arab world and Europe - and there are at least two different versions of just what happened to Omar Haza'a. People who, like Saddam, hail from the provincial town of Tikrit, up the Tigris from Baghdad, command special access to power and privilege. They are the nobility of Baathism. Among these, Haza'a is - or was - a prince of the blood, being a member of the Salim Bejat clan and honoured for the role he played as the commander of the Baghdad district, in the Baathist seizure of power in 1968.

Takritis do of course fall from favour, and a few have been murdered, but, on the whole, Saddam treats them with a restraint that is unnecessary for the rest of the population. Thus his three half-brothers, Barzan, Sibawi and Wathban, who were stripped of their posts at the head of the secret police, are still alive, confined to their palaces in Tikrit: they command a continued influence that Saddam cannot but respect.

Haza'a, a heavy drinker, took to cursing Saddam, the war, and the hatred and peril into which it has brought the Takritis. Upon hearing of this Saddam went to Tikrit, summoned the clans, and told them: I have given you all you have and this is my reward? An eyewitness reports that the Haza'a residence in an exclusive district of

Baghdad has been demolished - this being a standard punishment, copied from the Israelis, that Saddam reserves for "traitors" and reports say that his mansion at Al-Ojja, near Tikrit, where top Baathists have country palaces, has been bulldozed into the Tigris. Haza'a, one of his sons, and a son-in-law have disappeared.

This is the moderate version of what happened to Haza'a. The extreme one, which, given Saddam's record, is nonetheless, barely less credible, is hair-raising. "Now," said a veteran Saddam-watcher, "the Takritis know that they are not immune to his rages."

One institution in which Saddam goes to extreme lengths to guard against defeatism is the army. It is three years since the formation of the notorious execution brigades, generally stationed just behind the front line, which summarily despatches "backsliders" - those who exhibit lack of enthusiasm for the war - and "cowards" - those who run away, or simply retreat under overwhelming enemy pressure.

Since the relative stabilisation of the fronts, it has become very difficult for Iraqi soldiers to cross the lines they way they used to, but estimates put the number of deserters hiding in Iraq itself at up to 35,000.

It all adds up, Iraqi exiles believe, to a powder keg which the next Iranian offensive might ignite. "In a curious way," said a refugee recently arrived in Beirut, "our people are looking forward to the Iranian offensive. It could bring their agony to an end."

"We don't want Khomeini" - it is an educated Shi'ite speaking - "but we can't take any more of Saddam. Where they can, our soldiers are making surrender pacts. The government knows it. It even tries to stop them wearing white underwear. But the apparatus of terror is breaking down." He should know: of his eight conscripted brothers, four have been killed.

There is something profoundly unreal, hallucinatory about the Gulf situation. The official Iraqi view of itself - secure against all that Iran can throw at it - permeated through much of the Arab world in the Gulf and Jordan. Iraqi defeats are portrayed more like victories. The unreality is sustained in spite of no doubt because, of the realisation that if Saddam cannot withstand the Iranian onslaught, the consequences are liable to be perhaps the greatest upheaval in the Middle East since the creation of the state of Israel.

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11 SAVILE ROW

THE delegates all held their yellow cards loyally in the air in the end. But there was no mistaking the sense of unease which preceded the mostly unanimous votes. The Social Democrats, debating defence policy at their Harrogate conference, know now that their relationship with the Liberals will be on the line when their Alliance partners debate the same issue at Eastbourne next week. They know, too, that their debate was not just about the defence issue, but about the relationship with the Liberals — and, as something much wider — the nature of the Owen's leadership of the party, too. The Owen's leadership of the party, too. The Owen's leadership of the party, too.

This conclusion does not necessarily imply criticism of Dr Owen. It merely acknowledges the extent to which he dominates his own party and, less certainly, the Alliance. He did not speak in Sunday's debate but he was nevertheless the focus of it. It is because Dr Owen has decided that this is his issue and that his party and his allies must accommodate themselves to his fertile judgements about defence that this debate was taking place at all. The SDP leader believes that the Conservatives will try to blow Labour out of the water on defence during the next election campaign. He thinks they will succeed, like they did in 1983. This time, he argues, will be the Alliance's opportunity to make mass advances, exploiting Labour's discreditable and the Tories' unpopularity. But it will only work if the Alliance has bolted its line

Britain's defence and the next election

any together in advance. Hence Dr Owen's repeated pressure on his more circumspect colleagues. Hence his recent trip to France and Brussels with Mr David Steel, designed to show Alliance voters that there is an Anglo-French future and that it works. Hence, even at the eleventh hour, his remarks in Harrogate on Saturday about Trident replacement.

Now Dr Owen has his victory, formidably won. But it has been won at a price. Clever conference management by the SDP leadership minimised the opportunities for divisive votes. But the upshot was that the SDP adopted motions which are, on the face of it, contradictory in the emphasis which they attach to the joint Alliance commission document rather than to the SDP's own more hawkish 1985 conference policy. And, by what looked like a 5:1 majority, they agreed to an olive branch amendment from Glasgow North emphasising those policies most likely to attract the Liberals. It may in the end be no bad thing that the conference has entrusted its leader with so much freedom to interpret party policy. Dr Owen has managed to make the running pretty effectively up to now. But a lot now rests on the mood of the Liberals. Depending on the reaction at Eastbourne, the SDP may regret not having spelled out more clearly the

limits beyond which it refuses to go. But there is a wider doubt. The latest CND/Gallup poll identifies it very clearly. Over the years, unilateralism has been a minority conviction, supported by about a quarter of the population. The CND poll, though, shows unilateralist support at 44 per cent, against 46 per cent opposed and 10 per cent don't know. That's a big shift. It could be important and it needs to be understood. Combine it with a 3:1 majority opposing the European bomb option and you must begin to wonder whether Dr Owen may have got it wrong. Public opinion may not be as irredeemably committed to a British finger on the trigger as Dr Owen assumes. Retention of Polaris may not be such a copper-bottomed vote winner, after all. A party leader who appears wedded to maintaining the independent nuclear deterrent under all foreseeable circumstances may not be as popular a party leader as he supposes. Dr Owen has won admiration for his determination to face facts in a realistic and undogmatic way, especially over defence. The Gallup poll is a fact, too, and the Alliance would do well to face it.

For in a wider poll about voting intentions the Alliance now stands at 24 per cent compared with 36 per cent this time last year. After a successful conference session

last year it looked well placed to consolidate at that level for some time. But that hasn't happened. The Alliance has sunk back gradually but consistently over the intervening months so that, at least for the present, the country has a two and two thirds party political contest once again, not the three party race of autumn 1985. That could change, of course; the bedrock of support remains over 20 per cent and there was more hopeful news for the delegates in local and parliamentary by-elections. But the SDP activists cannot assume it will change by magic.

The key to the Alliance's current showing is the relative recovery of the Labour Party. In 1981, the year it was founded, the SDP saw itself as the natural alternative to a Labour Party that had lost the will and the right to govern. But Mr Neil Kinnock has pulled his party a long way round since then. For the moment he dominates both his party and the trades unions. Many of the voters who abandoned Labour in 1983 for the Alliance have returned to their earlier loyalty. Meanwhile, the Alliance has become increasingly an alternative not to Labour but to the Conservatives. It is Mrs Thatcher, not Mr Kinnock, whose dogmatism offers the Alliance its best chance of electoral success. Several of the Social Democrats who left Labour in 1981 are uneasily aware that they may have bought the wrong ticket after all. As long as Mr Kinnock keeps it up — and his big test on defence has yet to come — it is going to be difficult for the SDP and the Alliance to think buoyantly in terms of government.

Report, page 5

Miss Bhutto's brick wall

WHEN Miss Benazir Bhutto flew back from exile to Pakistan, a heady few days after the democratic thriller in Manila, anything seemed possible. A million people turned out spontaneously and joyously to welcome her to Lahore. She demanded elections. Surely, it seemed, she would overwhelmingly win those elections. But then reality seeped back. General Zia-ul-Haq, over nine amazingly adroit years, had proved a nonpareil political operator in military uniform. His skills had not deserted him. He didn't panic publicly. He merely absorbed the Bhutto demonstration and let any elections piod into the mists of the nineteen-nineties. The next move was left to Miss Bhutto. She organised a nationwide day of action and dissent. It was ruthlessly suppressed. She, and the opposition leaders who matter, were locked away. The big day lost its impact.

Last week, as prison doors swung open, Miss Bhutto is free again and so, interestingly, are her key supporters. A mini-summit of Pakistan opposition leaders discussed — pretty inconclusively — the next steps on a road to nowhere very certain. Miss Bhutto has set a deadline of this weekend for Zia to grant instant democracy or face renewed trouble in the streets. But, since he coped so easily with the last trouble on the streets, it is difficult to see him trembling. The Aquino parallel has virtually vanished. Miss Bhutto knows that she is the leader Pakistan would choose if a choice was on offer. But the present leader of Pakistan is offering nothing, and the fiespious political legions behind Miss Bhutto are clearly in no mood for the kind of bloody uprising that might change his mind. So what does Benazir do next?

She has two paths open, and neither is very attractive. One is to plough on regardless. Foment rebellion. Organise strikes and marches. Hope that a belated

groundswell of rugged activism will shake Zia and bring diamas amongst the Punjabi army officers who are the props of his power. In short, try the tactics which brought her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and gave Zia his own opportunity. But there is one terrible snag to such a strategy — quite apart from the manifest lack of enough determined street fighters, the democrats — in Pakistan history — only get their chance when the army is so discredited that it voluntarily passes the buck of governance. Zia has not reached that pass yet. And, even if he had, there seem plenty of alternative generals who would step in to depose him, take the reins, promise elections at a later date, and merely leave Miss Bhutto with another dictator to deal with.

The other route may appeal even less to a leader of Benazir Bhutto's fiery, impatient temperament. It is simply to pause and retreat to the high moral ground. Zia has promised a proper poll in three years or so. Miss Bhutto is the only political leader who matter nationally. Very well. She is 33; she can wait.

Rationally, on all the evidence of a long, hot Pakistan summer, a retreat to the high ground is the only policy that makes sense. But it will not be easy, especially for Miss Bhutto. Yet how else is Pakistan to contrive its next fling with democracy? Sooner or later the endless alternations of military dictatorship and civilian rule will have to come to an end. They don't fit, any longer, with the growing economic maturity of the country, and with all the opportunities for prosperity that stability would bring. But the ultimate test for Pakistan is not simply to call an election which allows Miss Bhutto a few years in the sun. It is to ensure a permanent transition of power which allows other politicians to follow Miss Bhutto. And that, it seems, will not be won on the street just yet.

the Scandinavians.

"The Government ought to take a bold step toward the ban by supporting the draft EEC directive of a 60 per cent reduction in acidic emissions. That is the only way we can protect our own environment and that of the Scandinavians."

Mrs Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway's socialist Prime Minister, welcomed with reservations Britain's announcement of new controls of sulphur dioxide emissions. She also said Norway's decision to cut oil exports later this year would help Britain by stabilising prices, and ought not to be seen as a negative move.

Both she and Mrs Thatcher, at

separate press conferences, tried to appear conciliatory after two days of talks which clearly failed to narrow the gap between them, and an evening of violent demonstrations on Thursday. Mrs Brundtland said that she had apologised to her guests for the disruption caused by the clashes between police and demonstrators on Thursday night which delayed the official banquet. "Last night wasn't pleasant for me as a hostess," she said. But, she went on, the demonstrators were raising the same issues as many Norwegians — Mrs Thatcher's South African and environmental policies.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

A ridiculous sideshow with France under terrorist threat

"TERRORISM is a veritable act of war," said Prime Minister Chirac addressing the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense on Friday. Four years earlier, another Prime Minister — Pierre Mauroy — also compared this challenge to the world as "a crime having the resources of war" and concluded that the anti-terrorist struggle was "part and parcel of defence".

Such doctrinal continuity between right and left in France on so grave a matter can only be commended. Compared with this consensus in defining the danger, there is something stupid, contemptible and obscene about two former secret service bosses — Alexandre de Marenches and Pierre Marion — accusing each other in public of having done practically nothing to counter terrorism, at a time when French citizens are paying a heavy price in blood.

The sponsors and executors of such attacks, as well as their beneficiaries, are likely to judge the efficiency of French secret services by the gauge offered by

this ridiculous squabble. A year after the botched operation against the Rainbow Warrior in New Zealand, the DGSE (Direction Générale de la Sécurité) is still licking its wounds, and it deserves better than this unseemly row.

Why do men accustomed to secrecy and working in the shadows because of the responsibilities they exercised in the past suddenly

COMMENT

feel an overpowering compulsion to take centre stage and put on airs as soon as they quit their jobs? Who stands to gain from their urge, long held in check, to indulge in spectacular self-promotion? In the days when they ran their services, they insisted on discretion from their subordinates. Why then should not these men, who know from experience that what counter-espionage demands above all is secrecy so as to deny information to the adversary, show concern for respecting their obliga-

tion to remain silent? If they want to bear witness to history, let them first refrain from departing from their professional code of conduct, all the more so as at this particular juncture the secret services' task is neither as simple nor as straightforward as some, including people in government circles, would have us believe.

With an executive answerable to the nation and apparently waiting for positive, even quick, results in the anti-terrorist struggle so as to reassure the public, the remedy does not lie within secret services like the DGSE, to say nothing of the army. Military action, provided a government accepts full responsibility for it before the world community, can produce temporary, ad-hoc results, but it does not defuse a highly explosive with many other political and ideological ramifications.

"Terrorism is the union of fire and water," says a DGSE official. That is, two natural elements which when they break loose can quickly become uncontrollable. (September 14/15)

Chirac enforces border checks

Shortly after terrorists struck yet again in the French capital, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac announced a package of anti-terrorist measures that will go into operation immediately. The package includes mandatory entry visas for visitors to France from all countries other than the EEC states and Switzerland, reinforcement of border crossings and other border areas with the deployment of 1,000 army commandos, the generalisation of systematic search operations in public places, and intensified checks on the movements of people.

Chirac spoke against the background of three bomb attacks in the capital and news that six more French soldiers serving with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (Unifil) had fallen victim to a terrorist mine in southern Lebanon. He had particularly harsh words for the Finnish commander of the Unifil force: "I telephoned the general commanding the French contingent today and learned to my utter amazement and disgust that the general commanding the Unifil force had gone on

leave and would be absent until October 2." He described the attitude as reprehensibly frivolous considering the gravity of the situation. Three of the soldiers whose vehicle blew up on a land mine were badly injured and one of them is reported to be clinically dead.

Another terrorist attack in Paris took place at 5.30 pm on Sunday, September 14, at the Pub Renault on the crowded Champs-Élysées. A waiter spotted a suspicious-looking parcel in a flowerpot on a table and reported it to the manager, who called in the police. When the parcel was being moved it blew up, severely injuring the two policemen and another person. One of the policemen, a young man aged 24, later died of his wounds.

The bomb is said to have been roughly of the same size — 2.5 kilos — as the device that went off in a crowded cafeteria in the Defence district, on the western outskirts of Paris, shortly after midnight on Friday, injuring 41 people, two of them quite seriously. Twelve persons — all of Middle Eastern origin — have been arrested and are awaiting expulsion.

In a further development, a large bomb was reported to have gone off at a police headquarters at lunchtime on Monday, injuring at least 50 people.

Meanwhile, a public controversy has broken out in France following charges and counter-charges and disclosures made by two former French secret service chiefs.

Aquino's Defence Minister plays a waiting game

MANILA — "I don't know why, each time I open my mouth, I cause flurries. Yet this government claims to be pluralist." On hand and with ironical affable and cajoling by turns, Filipino Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile refuses to give interviews "before next week's visit to the United States by the President." But this does not prevent him from speaking up, in private, over a drink, or at the end of a lunch which unexpectedly turns into a press conference.

Johnny, as he is familiarly called by Filipinos, is 62. A former Harvard graduate, Enrile was for 20 years a pillar of the Marcos regime (in particular he occupied the same post that he holds now) and in the course of this summer he has emerged as one of the key figures on the Filipino political scene. "Stop: the minister of defence is not a political organisation, and doesn't indulge in politics. But I'm asked to do the impossible: who can prove he has no ambitions?" In particular, he was credited with planning to succeed Marcos and there is no indication that he has abandoned the idea of running for President.

True, the skillfully structured comments that Enrile makes week after week look like direct criticism of what the Aquino government is doing. So much so, that recently Minister of Local Administrations Pimentel for the first time gave his cabinet colleague a warning: "If he doesn't agree with the President's policy towards the Communists, let him resign."

To which Enrile, who has less faith in a negotiated solution to the communist insurgency than in military action, replies blandly: "All right, I agree my approach to the Communist problem is different from that of other government members. You see, the Communists represent a real danger. They are now openly on the political scene, they speak freely but have

not abandoned their armed struggle." Meanwhile, without mentioning Enrile directly, Agriculture Minister Mitra, one of the two men appointed by Cory Aquino to negotiate with the Communists, rails in public about the "hysterical reactions" to the Communist Party's demands which are likely to cause the negotiations to collapse.

Enrile scarcely seems to worry about the reactions to his statements are causing among radical or merely liberal cabinet members. He knows that Washington, worried about a possible easing of the military crackdown on the insurgency, is with him on the Communist issue and that a good many within the party do not believe in these negotiations. "The problem is one of national security," says Enrile. "Tell me if I'm being disloyal to Mrs Aquino by putting her on her guard. I'm not against a ceasefire, but I think it's necessary to be cautious and not help a long-term strategy of the Communists who are planning to fight on several fronts — legal and armed."

Enrile's double-edged has only a handful of officers behind him, but most of them acknowledge he is defending them, especially those who have been accused of violations by the Human Rights Commission. He has declared he would defend his men even if he has to pay lawyers fees for them out of his own pocket.

In addition, Enrile is in the process of building, more or less openly, a solid political base in the country. Not only does he now appear to be the heir to the

Eduardo Kapunan, criticised Cory Aquino's handling of the Communist problem. Although dismissing suggestions that there might be a coup during her absence, the President did say: "I hope to God that I should be allowed to return to the country with the blessings of our ally, the United States of America, and the Filipino people, especially those in the military..."

Washington Post, page 17



Defence Minister Enrile

for the disappearances of people and the torture inflicted on political prisoners. So today he seeks to be everybody's friend.

He displayed his role as a conciliator particularly during the abortive Tolentino putsch in Manila early in July. With the President and the Vice-President away in Mindanao, he handled the matter smoothly, appearing relaxed as he went on television to reassure the public, then negotiating with the rebels, and in particular obtaining from Cory Aquino an undertaking that no punishments would be handed out, which has only strengthened his standing with the army. "Imagine if leftwing radicals had taken Manila Hotel," remarked a trade unionist bitterly. "They'd be in prison."

The Manila Hotel incident also has another dimension which demonstrates Enrile's power. According to a member of the presidential commission investigating the incident, it seems very likely that Enrile was kept informed by military intelligence of what was cooking. The charitable view is that Enrile let the conspiracy go ahead so the plotters would show their hand and he would be ready to act. A less charitable view, as the commission member who spoke to me pointed out, is that he waited to see how things would turn out.

If the Tolentino uprising and the generals involved in it had rallied the masses, he would still have had time to clamber on the bandwagon. This was all the easier as Tolentino had offered him a place in the provisional government he

intended to set up at the Manila Hotel. In a matter of hours the rebellion turned into a comic opera putsch and Enrile efficiently put an end to it.

Again on August 21, the anniversary of Ninoy Aquino's death, when Corason Aquino was held up at the Manila Hotel which, like the rest of the island of Luzon, was plunged in total darkness for several hours — it is something that has never been explained — it was Enrile who later went on radio to reassure the people (and the President) that the tanks were still in their barracks and that there was no cause for alarm.

Cory Aquino would doubtless be more comfortable with a less clever and less powerful man in the Defence Ministry, but for the moment it seems highly improbable she could do without Enrile without causing serious problems in her army.

(September 11)



Plan's view of Aquino's reaction to the current Egyptian target tanks.

UK moves to curb acid rain

By John Ardill and Jonathan Steele

Club of European states for a cut by that amount over the next seven years from the level of 1980. British officials claim that the 1980 starting date is arbitrary.

The announcement was attacked by Labour and environmental groups as "too little too late", and no more than an admission of guilt over Norwegian acid rain problems. Dr David Clark, Labour's natural environment spokesman, said, "This is a clumsy announcement and I'm quite sure no one will be taken in by it, especially

A £800 million scheme to reduce the emission of sulphur from three of Britain's largest coal-burning power stations was announced in London last week as the Prime Minister left on a visit to Norway.

Norway has repeatedly protested to Britain at the amount of acid rain which falls as a result of pollution from British power stations and Mrs Thatcher obviously hoped that the gesture would help provide a favourable atmosphere for her two-day visit.

The first of the three power stations to be fitted with flue gas desulphurisation plants on a programme from 1988 to 1997 is likely to be the newest 2,000

megawatt unit, Drax B, in Yorkshire. The others likely to follow are Fiddlers Ferry, in Cheshire, and Burton West, in Staffordshire. The scheme involves building a small chemical plant next to each power station. Coupled with plans to fit filters to all new power stations, the programme aims to reduce Britain's sulphur emissions by 14 per cent by 1997.

A final decision to clean up these three coal-fired stations still awaits the results of studies by the Royal Society and the Norwegian and Swedish Academies of Science which are due next spring. The plan falls short of the aims endorsed by the "30 Per Cent

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COMING as they did after so many others, have not the Karachi and Istanbul attacks left democratic pretensions before the terrorist onslaught?

Raimond: These tragic attacks, including the ones that took place in Karachi and Istanbul, call for the strongest condemnation. They show once again that the world today must face up to the increasingly worrying increase of terrorism which does not hesitate to resort to every possible means.

In these two cases, they are countries on the fringes of the Middle East and in direct contact with the conflicts racking these areas, countries turned towards the West. In Western democracies that was attacked was American.

As far as Western democracies are concerned, we know they are even more vulnerable precisely because they respect human rights and value human life, a fact reflected in their institutions, especially judicial institutions, and because they have traditions of openness, hospitality and freedom.

Democracies are not defenceless, however, in the confrontation with terrorism, for cherishing the values I've just mentioned does not rule out firmness by governments and their people. Concern for freedom does not preclude a policy of security based on vigilance. Concern for hospitality is not at odds with maintaining stricter surveillance at frontiers. Steps have already been taken to strengthen European cooperation against terrorism and this action is expected to be steadily pursued.

Do you think there is a direct connection between the various terrorist actions, successful or not, which have cost (or nearly cost, as in the RER bomb attempt) the lives of French citizens, recently both here and in Lebanon, and the new threats held in Lebanon?

I don't think so at all. I don't think all these things should be generalised. To take the Unifil case, for example, we see it was triggered off on August 11 and 12 by a serious incident, but unavoidable for a peacekeeping force, that took place during a routine check.

The recent wave of totally indiscriminate terrorist attacks has strengthened the conviction that there should be closer international co-ordination in combating terrorism which knows no frontiers. In particular, has been put under no pressure by this unseen enemy: three French soldiers attached to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon were murdered last

France walks a tightrope over the hostages issue

It set off the chain of events we all know and brought a flurry of charges against Unifil from extremist Shi'ites. It brought about a change in the situation on the ground. A part of the local forces demanded that Unifil be withdrawn or tried to provoke it.

The RER incident is plainly a case of terrorism, but in my opinion there is no direct connection between this terrorism and whatever is happening elsewhere. Islamic Jihad's communication (sent to a Lebanese newspaper) is however connected to the hostages issue.

were given the visas. The ambassador asked them when they were thinking of going back to France and they answered they would do so when the universities reopen, since they are students. They recently confirmed this during a meeting with our chargé d'affaires in Baghdad.

Students, really? There has been a lot of talk that at least one of them was in fact very close to Iraqi authorities and that his job was to infiltrate the opposition (Iraqi opposition in France).

Yes, students. You know there

in our talks with Iran, a problem which was kept well within bounds. I share the grief of the (hostages) families in this tragic business, but this has not altered my view. These are conversations, not a horse trade. Out of consideration for the families, I pass on information to them from time to time. Unfortunately I can't tell you more at this stage, so as not to complicate matters even more.

Where have financial negotiations with Iran got to? Quite far. We're now within

Jacques Amalric and Bernard Brigouleix talk to the French Foreign Minister

We can wonder whether there is any relation between this communication and the talks we have been conducting for the past five months to obtain the hostages' release. The talks are continuing normally, although progress is very slow. We're doing everything we can and I don't see a direct link between the present state of these conversations and Islamic Jihad's message.

It contains a number of specific demands that don't concern us directly. In those that concern us, there is the case of the two Iraqis (recently deported from France), and what has been said about it does not tally with the facts as we know them. A few weeks ago, the two Iraqis went to the French embassy (in Baghdad) and applied for visas (to enter France). They

are many countries that have 35-year-old students. At any rate, they explained they wanted to come back to Paris to continue their university studies, and added they were free to move at will. We announced it after having carried out checks. As for the rest of the Islamic Jihad message, it obviously contains threats, but at the same time it expresses the hope that headway will be made in the conversations currently under way.

But didn't the government feel badly let down by the recent upsurge of terrorist attacks immediately in the wake of a period when the release of two of the hostages had raised expectations? There was a problem in August

sight of a partial agreement, and we're continuing overall negotiations. They concern in particular the \$1 billion Iran lent to the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA). There are also French creditors, connected with Eurodif, and companies which suffered as a result of the Iranian revolution.

We have made a number of concessions, as is normal in negotiations of this sort. There still remain problems to be settled, but we're making headway and could even complete the negotiations fairly soon.

When is the next meeting? At the moment I'm waiting for the Iranian government to respond to the representation I made on August 21.

Could we still say that there will

be no agreement on the debt issue before the hostages are released?

You mustn't put it that way. Here's what I can tell you. First, when we decided to normalise political, economic and cultural relations with Iran, it was a policy as such, it being understood that for everybody, especially the Iraqis, this concern to normalise relations in no way called into question either our policy in the region, in the Arab world in general, or our friendship with Baghdad. On the other hand, it is clear that although the Iranian government is not responsible for holding the hostages, it does have leverage over the kidnappers. Given this, a full normalisation, including an exchange of ambassadors, even a visit to Tehran by me, will not be possible so long as these French citizens are held by their kidnappers.

When you are in the government and are confronted by a tragic situation like this, you can of course ignore this situation and leave the hostages to their fate. You can also — and this is what we're doing — do everything possible to obtain their release. But this doesn't mean that French policy then becomes, as it were, the hostages' hostage. This is indeed what we have explained to those people we are dealing with.

In your negotiations with Iran, will you be taking into consideration Tehran's efforts — through the Hezbollah — to compel the French contingent in Lebanon, and if possible the entire Unifil force, to get out of Lebanon?

We're taking each question separately. There's the question of normalising relations with Iran. There's the hostage question. There's the question of Unifil, which has to be examined with the United Nations in particular, while at the same time taking all the elements into consideration — including the attitude of the Iranian government with which we're in complete disagreement on the Unifil issue.

That's putting it mildly... Has Tehran indeed given the Hezbollah the go-ahead to harass the French contingent? There have been statements to this effect... Quite. That's why we're going to raise the matter with the Iranians in our next talks. We'll see then just how far they are committed to this line. But it doesn't mean that problem will have repercussions on the others.

What are you expecting from your representation to the United Nations? Unifil was set up in 1978 and France decided to take part in it. The situation in southern Lebanon today is intolerable. Unifil doesn't have the means for fulfilling its mission which, in fact, ceased a long time ago to be the one it was given under UN Resolution 422.

That mission required Unifil to make sure Israel withdrew to its own territory, to allow the Lebanese government to establish its authority in all of southern Lebanon and to restore peace and security. This was completed in 1982 by a mission of humanitarian pacification. But today Unifil is in no position to carry out even such an abbreviated mission, since its soldiers — and not just the French contingent — have become targets.

And this is intolerable. Since it's a UN force, however, it's up to the Security Council — that is, the world community — to accept its responsibilities. I hope the UN mission would be dispatched quickly to Lebanon. As soon as I heard that French soldiers had been killed, I asked that the matter be raised at the Security Council. I previously checked with the Prime Minister and the President that this was also their view. I also discussed the

Continued on page 12

THE GUARDIAN, September 21, 1986

Portrait of a terrorist 'family'

MYSTERY surrounds Georges Ibrahim Abdallah. This man, who is believed to be leader of the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Fractions (FARL) and has been imprisoned in France since October 1984, appears to be the principal stake, if not the only one, in the campaign of terrorist blackmail to which the French government is currently subjected. Since December 1985, his associates, who investigators say are behind the Comité de Solidarité avec les Prisonniers Politiques Arabes et du Proche-Orient (CSSPA) have been responsible for 11 terrorist attacks (three unsuccessful) in public places in Paris to force the French government to release him.

Why this sustained pressure over 10 months such as France has never experienced before? Everything here seems to be calculated, programmed and timed — a far cry from an irrational escalation. Men who plant bombs follow their own logic, however twisted. The answers are to be sought in the file on Abdallah, in the mass of intelligence gathered by the DST, the French counter-espionage service, concerning the itinerary of a very special terrorist organisation.

Here then is the story of Abdallah and his friends pieced together with the help of hitherto unpublished documents, court hearings and the written indictment of the Lyons prosecutor's office, and secrets revealed by specialists in the anti-terrorist struggle.

The story opens with a new and surprising anecdote. It was not the DST who picked up Abdallah in Lyons on October 25, 1984. In fact, he walked into a police station and asked for police protection. Why? Because he noticed he was being shadowed and feared they were Mossad (Israeli secret service) agents out to get him. He had a solid cover — an authentic Algerian passport issued in the name of Abdelkader Saadi, electronics engineer — and thought he could escape his pursuers in this way. But he was mistaken. The men shadowing him were DST inspectors, who had been well informed, and knew who they were dealing with. A revealing attitude of a man who thought he was important enough to be Mossad's potential target.

Two and a half months later, a man coming from Ljubljana (Yugoslavia) was arrested by Italian customs near the Trieste-Opicina border crossing. He had a railway ticket for Ljubljana-Rome.

Lyons to "loaf about the city" and "visit cafes and restaurants". The DST investigators let him glimpse they knew more and that this defence just did not hold any water. Abdallah then fell back on his second cover: "I'm an Arab revolutionary of Algerian nationality... My job was to get the members of my organisation, the Revolutionary Movement of Arab Union (MRUA), out of France... The network's permanent members as well as the logistical back-up have already been evacuated... These people were placed in position to determine and identify Israeli and American targets, but

an investigation by Georges Marion and Edwy Plenel

Modena-Paris. Above all he was carrying 7.6 kilos of a Semtex-type explosive. The man actually tried to make the Italians believe that they were in fact oriental cakes by swallowing one of them. He later refused to say anything, so much so the Italians still have not succeeded in discovering his real identity behind the Moroccan passport bearing the name of Abdallah el Mansouri.

With the help of this catch, Italian and French police caught up with Abdallah by shadowing two other members of the group, Ferial Daher and Josephine Abdo (Abdo was arrested by the Italian police after Abdallah on December 18, 1984). The first interrogations then began in Lyons of the man whom the DST, on the strength of information coming from Lebanese Phalange sources, suspected was FARL's leader. They found they were dealing with a professional who could not be shaken. Initially, he clung to his cover that he was an Algerian tourist who had worked in Kuwait and "visited" Marseille, Dijon, Paris and Aix-en-Provence before arriving in

the organisation realised it wasn't expedient to hit such objectives given the present political environment. The DST then tried to push the advantage by questioning him on the "similarities" between the "MRUA's" targets and the FARL's victims. To no purpose: "The MRUA is not connected at all to the FARL... the basic difference is that MRUA is interested in Israeli and American targets to discover what they are preparing against us, while FARL strikes at their objectives." In other words, he was claiming to be a political operative, not a military man. But this defence was ripped apart by the mass of damning discoveries the DST amassed in its painstaking investigation into Swiss bank accounts and Paris hideouts.

These are very precisely summarised in the Lyons prosecutor's written indictment, which was prepared for Abdallah's hearing in July: "Since 1980 he has been running the FARL, which is composed primarily of residents of the cities of Kobayat and Andakt

in northern Lebanon, and especially several of his brothers (Maurice, Robert, Joseph and Fakim — the last, who was a naturalised French citizen, died mysteriously in Paris in 1983). His movement appears to have relations with non-Palestinian terrorist groups, especially the Red Brigades and Action Directe." The Lyons magistrates are categorical: "As the inquiry shows, Georges Abdallah is the driving force behind the terrorist group he heads; he picks the targets and looks after the supply of explosives and weapons and finds the safe houses."

It has also been shown that he

travelled around using at least five different passports (Maltese, two Moroccan, an Algerian and a South Yemeni) under a variety of names (Alex, Skandara, Michel Saad, Georges Haddad, Abbas, etc.); that between 1981 and 1984 he travelled very frequently between France, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Italy, Switzerland and Spain; that his stays in Paris, in particular, coincided with the dates of FARL terrorist attacks; that he frequently changed hotels and rented, through third parties, several apartments and self-contained flats.

What did the police find on Abdallah's person and in the apartments he lived in? Lists of Israeli and Jewish organisations and associations, names of prominent Jewish figures, street maps of cities (Rome, Bern, Saragossa, Nicosia). Above all, they discovered a veritable arsenal as a result of the search made on April 2, 1985 of the flat he rented at No 18, Rue Lacroix in the 17th arrondissement of Paris (discovered by tracing the circuit taken by the rent payments — credit transfers from the Universal Bank of Geneva to a real estate agency account at the Crédit du Nord in Paris: 97 cakes of trityl (21 kilos), a 2.5 kg cake of Semtex H, three detonators, six RPG7 propellants, a one-kilo cake of explosive, two Skorpion CZ 7.65mm submachine-guns, a CZ 7.65mm machine-pistol, 158 rounds of 7.65mm ammunition, two walkie-talkies, a remote-controlled detonating device, a radio receiver fitted out for remote control activation, pencils converted for use as detonators...)

The experts concluded that the submachine-gun had been used for the 1982 slayings of Charles Ray, the US military attaché in Paris, and Yacov Barlamantov, the second secretary at the Israeli embassy in Paris, two of the eight attacks between 1981 and 1984 (seven in France, one in Italy) responsibility for which was publicly claimed by the FARL. The same experts point to the "sophisticated character" of the remote-controlled systems which were made by knowledgeable amateurs. They also note the "Czech origins of most of the weapons and explosives."

The ramifications and the high

Did General Walters speak to you about terrorist actions which the Americans think are sponsored by Qaddafi? He didn't mention any particular action. But it's clear Washington was expecting a resurgence of terrorist activity. (September 9)

"quality" of the organisation forged by Abdallah became evident from this exhaustive investigation. As is evident from the "fake but genuine" passports, it is a network which functioned with state support. What this means is that the FARL worked for a section of the Syrian government and George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Born in 1981 in Tripoli, Georges Ibrahim Abdallah was from his young days an activist in the Syrian People's Party, a Lebanese party dedicated to Greater Syria. He left it to join Palestinian movements, particularly the PFLP, where he is supposed to have had the rank of major and to be on friendly terms with Habbash.

What is unique about this organisation is that it is a family network and its members have a thorough knowledge of Europe, especially France. All the FARL members so far identified are close to the Abdallah family, which is of Christian origin. Apart from El Mansouri and Abdo (sentenced respectively to 15 and 16 years in gaol in Italy), there are Jacqueline Eber, Ferial Daher, Salim El Khoury, Maurice Abdallah (he has still not been found). When Gilles Peyrolles, the director of the French Cultural Centre in Tripoli was kidnapped by the FARL in March 1985 in a bid to obtain the release of its fellow members, he found himself confronted by El Khoury, Robert and Maurice Abdallah as well as Eber, said to be the group's "brains".

All of them speak very good French. Abdallah, who prides himself on his Marxist culture, kept company with the Red Brigades in the '70s. He set up a "broad-ranging" network, making himself out to be a political man, and winning over French extreme-left circles in Grenoble especially. He gave his network a name similar to West Germany's Red Army Faction. In short, he knows how to pour himself into the mould of European terrorism. He is an important and able figure. In short he is a "cadre" of international terrorism.

The police investigation has however uncovered only the tip of the iceberg. For instance, FARL has claimed responsibility only for targeted actions, particularly against American and Israeli diplomats and secret service agents. The discovery of important stocks of explosives proves that it did not restrict itself to this role. The Lyons prosecutor's office points out that "in all probability all of the caches planted by FARL have not been discovered." What's more, the contents of the cache of weapons and explosives found on the Rue Lacroix had been "handed" since Abdallah's arrest in 1984, as was shown by a copy of the Paris daily, Le Quotidien de Paris, dated January 26, 1985 which was found there.

A logistical infrastructure which has not yet been unearthed and has probably been involved in some of these latest terrorist attacks. (September 10)

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Claude Berri's new film, "Jean de Florette", which was released in Paris on August 27, stars Yves Montand as grandpa César Soubeyran, a patriarchal figure as rugged as the Provençal maquis.

For the film, Montand has been aged 15 years, with heavy make-up, his natural wrinkles help, and a pencil, a briefly grizzled moustache and a hat whose patina suggests a lifetime of hard work and sweat in a torrid climate, he looks disconcertingly like Gaston Dominici.

Montand's transition, as an actor, from middle to old age seems to have been achieved effortlessly, and apparently without any regrets. One wonders what prompted him to take such an important and irreversible step. Why had he agreed to play the part of César?

WHEN did you first discover Marcel Pagnol's universe?

In "Marius" (1931), the first film scripted by him that I saw. With typical conceit, people in the South of France immediately got the impression that thanks to Pagnol the whole world had begun to revolve around La Canebière in Marseilles and the celebrated sardine which allegedly blocked the harbour entrance.

I myself, though from the Midi, thought it had all got a bit out of hand. Henri Allibert (a Marseillais actor and writer of light opera) was reportedly "enjoying a triumph in Paris" — but he wasn't, he was just being successful. Another Marseillais, Vincent Scotto, was "the world's greatest composer". No he wasn't — but his unique naivety was refreshing. I found I had to fight such southern exaggerations when we began shooting "Jean de Florette".

Daniel Auteuil, is superb as Ugolin, and who comes from Avignon, agreed with me. We took care not to pile on the southern accent. In any case, when you sit down and read Pagnol, the accent emerges naturally because of the sing-song way he writes.

You must have met Pagnol when you were a music-hall artiste in Marseilles?

Yes, in 1942. Pagnol owned his own studios there. He also ran a magazine, Les Cahiers du Film, in which I read that he was looking for extras for "La Fille du Puisatier". You were asked to bring your own "wardrobe".

I packed my little cardboard suitcase and turned up with my stage costume — a large and very long check sports jacket which my brother-in-law persuaded me to buy at Thiers', "the well-dressed man's outfitter".

As for my part, all you can see on the screen is my back. I was used as a marker for a tracking shot. But I was quite oblivious to what was going on. The spotlights were on my face and I was in seventh heaven: I was making a film!

That evening, I was introduced to Pagnol in the rushes room. I sang him three songs and did a few impersonations. After that, I didn't see him again immediately.

But he was best man at your wedding, wasn't he?

It was Simone who had kept in contact with Pagnol's wife, Jacqueline. They'd been at school together. And when Simone worked for a time at Harcourt the photographers, she met Jacqueline who had come to have a set of studio portraits taken. Then the Pagnols bought a house near Venice, and we saw each other regularly after that.

He was an extraordinary talker, just as captivating as Picasso, or Sartre, or Prévert — other people I've known. Pagnol had been a schoolteacher and it showed: he talked as though he was talking to his pupils — or maybe that was only how he acted with me. But anyway I learned a lot from him. And he was amusing too.

There were two stories of his he wanted me to direct, since he thought he was too old to direct them himself. One was a kind of

No doubt, too, because he wanted to demonstrate resoundingly that a possible future candidate for the French Presidency (which Montand has hinted he might be) is primarily and enduringly, a great actor. But certainly because he wanted a slice of the action in one of the biggest blockbusters in French cinema history, a movie with an eight-month shooting schedule and a budget of 110 million francs (about £11 million).

The story of Berri's ambitious film began back in 1952, when Pagnol, a film-maker as well as a novelist, shot "Manon des Sources". Ten years later, he published two novels, "Jean de Florette" and "Manon des Sources", which returned to and expanded on the theme of his film — the story landscape and emotions of Provence.

Claude Berri has adapted Pagnol's two novels for the screen. "Manon des Sources", the sequel to "Jean de Florette", will be released in November and also stars Montand.

Danièle Heymann interviewed Yves Montand at his Paris flat in the Place Dauphine — the home he shared with Simone Signoret until her death earlier this year. His only reference to that sad event in his life was an affectionate gesture towards the sofa where she used to sit, a shrug, and the words: "Life goes on."

means I can cut this or that politician down to size, then count me in. Imagine me and Le Pen. I'd like to be able to say to him: "You're a coward, sir. When one is an anti-Semite or a racist one should admit to being one."

But for the moment I'm happy to go on record as saying that some members of the present government are doing a fine job, like Philippe Séguin, Alain Juppé and Philippe Mahaut. I see no reason, either, why Philippe de Villiers should get so much stick. Is it because he is a devout Catholic? I say: respect his opinions even if you don't agree with them.

But I also recognise that some members of the previous Socialist Government, such as Jacques Delors, Pierre Bérégovoy and Jack Lang were good. Lang is perhaps a bit too flashy, but he did some very good things for culture. I only hope that his successor, François Léotard, does as much.

Things were more straightforward then. You were labelled as a leftwinger. That's no reason to label me as a rightwinger now. Or to think I want to become President of France. The question I ask myself is this: to make my voice heard, must I necessarily make a bid for the Presidency? It's as simple as that.

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To a certain extent I had the same problem as Marilyn Monroe, who was obliged to play dumb blondes because of the high girlish voice that issued from her superb body.

When you were type-cast as the "singing prostitute", were you already active politically? I've been involved in politics for 20 years now. It's not some passing fancy. Both in my so-called committed songs and in certain political films, my position didn't use to be very different from what it is today.

Things were more straightforward then. You were labelled as a leftwinger. That's no reason to label me as a rightwinger now. Or to think I want to become President of France. The question I ask myself is this: to make my voice heard, must I necessarily make a bid for the Presidency? It's as simple as that.

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to accept yourself as you are. When I gave my last show at the Olympia, I felt the need to be strict with myself. I saved my energies, spent the whole day lying down, watching what I ate, doing a bit of walking to improve my breathing, so I could give all of myself when the time came in the evening. One should never forget that the public is like a girl of 18 or 20, and quite legitimately very demanding.

I've decided to head the danger signals, even if I still feel up to doing certain things. So I can't really see myself doing another show in France. Gaiety performances, yes. And perhaps the tour I've been promising myself for ages — the backwoods of America, countries I've never sung in, like Egypt or Israel.

Are you satisfied with your physical?

I've never liked either my physique or my "nice working-class fellow" side. I know that deep inside me I can be as nice and as nasty as anyone else; but I don't like playing "nice" characters. I had no choice, though, as that was what was expected of me.

Montand comes to terms with the advancing years

Danièle Heymann talks to Yves Montand

where, every 10 years, a new curtain is raised — one green, one yellow, one blue, and then finally a black curtain falls. I was shocked when I turned 40, then had a wonderful summer when I was 53, the year that "César et Rosalie" came out.

Then, well, at 60 you just have



Montand brings a red rose to Simone Signoret's funeral.

But did you ever think of acting in a Pagnol play or film yourself?

Marcel asked me if I'd be interested in appearing in a stage version of "Marius", and later of "La Femme du Boulanger". I turned him down. By the way, Michel Galabru, who did it in the end, gave a really great performance and earned well-deserved success.

You haven't been in a film for three years, not since Claude Sautet's "Garçon", which was a turning-point. Now you're back, but in a film where you have been made to look 15 years older. Are you going through the same process as Jean Gabin in "Touchez pas au Grisbi" (1954)? Does your role in "Jean de Florette" herald the start of another successful career?

I myself have no desire whatever to start playing a series of grandfather roles. Commonsense tells me to give up acting altogether. It's a profession which causes, and has always caused, me such agony that I think it really must be time to call it a day.

In the cinema the aim is to get as close as possible to the truth of the character. You put on a set of clothes — César Soubeyran's heavy corduroy jacket, for example — but you really have to clothe yourself from within. And you're never quite sure you're going to pull it off.

Everyone raved about how thin I got for my part in "L'Avant". But that's not the point. Any idiot can lose a few pounds. But injecting life into a character, keeping up the momentum, equalling people's expectations of you, to the fee you're getting, to your public image, is quite a different matter. And even then the cinema is nothing compared with a one-man show.

For the first three weeks of my last show at the Olympia, in 1981, I swear to you I wished every evening I'd break my leg, so I'd have an excuse not to go on stage. It was because I was afraid, physically afraid.

It's never been easy for me. I even have difficulty in keeping time. When I sang "C'est Si Bon", I had to count in my head: "C'est si bon, deux, trois, quatre, un...". De par là n'importe où, deux, trois, quatre, un... What, you mean it didn't show? How nice of you. But why it comes down to it I wasn't really cut out for the job. I'll never understand how a son and grandson of peasants, like myself, ended up on the boards.

Have there been "periods" or "stages" in your career?

Yes, one grows old in stages. Our friend Louis de Funès used to compare life to a little theatre

There were two stories of his he wanted me to direct, since he thought he was too old to direct them himself. One was a kind of

But he was best man at your wedding, wasn't he?

It was Simone who had kept in contact with Pagnol's wife, Jacqueline. They'd been at school together. And when Simone worked for a time at Harcourt the photographers, she met Jacqueline who had come to have a set of studio portraits taken. Then the Pagnols bought a house near Venice, and we saw each other regularly after that.

He was an extraordinary talker, just as captivating as Picasso, or Sartre, or Prévert — other people I've known. Pagnol had been a schoolteacher and it showed: he talked as though he was talking to his pupils — or maybe that was only how he acted with me. But anyway I learned a lot from him. And he was amusing too.

There were two stories of his he wanted me to direct, since he thought he was too old to direct them himself. One was a kind of

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The Washington Post

The Danilooff Deal Genesis Of A Diplomatic Fiasco

By Walter Pincus and David B. Ottaway

NO ONE could look at the pictures of the Soviets' American hostage Nicholas Danilooff exulting in his transfer out of Lefortovo prison and not share in his gratitude and relief. Almost two weeks in his eight-by-ten-foot cell, cut off from contact with family and countrymen except by his jailers' occasional leave, subject to continuous surveillance and repeated, prolonged interrogation by his KGB captors, Mr. Danilooff, the Moscow correspondent for U.S. News & World Report, is immeasurably better off out of prison than he was in it.

But he is still the victim of a cynical and outrageous frame-up. And he is still a hostage. The only way the United States was able to gain his release from prison, it seems, was to acquiesce in this hostage status and to become in some degree a guarantor of it. This is awfully uncomfortable. In explanation it is said that Mr. Danilooff's health was at risk under the conditions of his imprisonment, that the deal is essentially the same one that was made to gain the release of another American in similar circumstances a few years back, that a kind of pre-arranged series of face-saving steps will in fact lead to Nick Danilooff's release from captivity and that in the imperfect and unbalanced, if not downright rotten, world of U.S.-Soviet dealings, this is the sort of thing you sometimes have to do.

There is bound to be much inquiry into all this in the days ahead; there will be sustained efforts by journalists and politicians and others to establish just what the bargaining was about and whether the American government did the right thing and got the best it could. There are many serious questions, and it will be useful to know more. The only thing we can say with certainty just now is that, glad that Nick Danilooff is out of Lefortovo, we hope, and trust, that the deal that got him out is better than it looks.

Washington — The Reagan administration hasn't ruled out a trade to free Nicholas Danilooff. Officials hope the Danilooff case won't disrupt arms-control talks or the summit. Oops. Wait a minute. Scratch that. The Danilooff case is an affront to human decency. There can be no talk of a trade for Danilooff. Er, sorry. Did we say no trade? Perhaps an "interim" trade is acceptable.

Libya's Moammar Gadhafi is planning new terrorist attacks against the United States, and the Reagan administration is readying plans for a military retaliation. Whoo! Hold on. Correction. The administration isn't planning military action. Intelligence reports about Libya are inconclusive.

President Reagan is finally prepared for a "grand compromise" on arms control. He will accept limits on strategic defense in exchange for deep cuts in Soviet offensive missiles. Wait. Sorry. No, he isn't. A trade-off of Star Wars is out of the question. The president remains fully committed to SDI.

These are the sounds of an administration spinning its wheels on foreign policy. Indeed, after reviewing the past month's record of statements and retractions on key issues, a reasonable person might ask whether the administration is conducting a foreign policy at all these days. The answer is yes, but it's a strange sort of policy.

The Reagan administration's foreign policy might best be described as "ad-hocism." Far from being the rigid application of ideology that liberal critics feared, the Reagan foreign policy has proved to be something quite different: an ad-hoc process of trial and error, of alternating hard-line and soft-line statements, of proposals that are run up the flagpole to see who salutes.

It is foreign policy by public opinion poll, and in many ways, it works. The country is happy. Usually it gets what it wants. Reagan's ad-hocism has its virtues. When Ferdinand Marcos became an embarrassment to the United States this year, Reagan pulled the plug on his old friend. When public support eroded for American involvement in Lebanon in 1984, Reagan pulled out. It's hard to imagine this president

getting involved in a messy, unpopular war like Vietnam. He wouldn't have the patience for it. And Reagan has accomplished the sleight of hand that matters most in foreign affairs: the appearance of strength.

The problem is that the undisciplined, ad-hoc style of the Reagan administration makes it hard to achieve any foreign-policy breakthroughs. It's surprising, in fact, how little this strong and popular president has been able to accomplish in nearly six years. The record of the weak and unpopular Carter administration, by comparison, is full of accomplishments, whether you agree with them or not: the Panama Canal treaty, normalization of diplomatic relations with China, a new SALT treaty with the Soviet Union, a

peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The Reagan administration, in contrast, has had trouble brokering a relatively simple dispute between Egypt and Israel about some beach property in the Sinai desert.

The root of these difficulties is the breakdown of the National Security Council system. The NSC is supposed to bring order to the policy process and ensure that the administration speaks with one voice. But in this administration, the NSC machine hasn't worked to resolve interagency bickering and provide clear and timely presidential decisions.

A case in point is the Reagan administration's performance during the 1983 shoot-down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. As Seymour Hersh reconstructs the story in his new book, "The Target Is Destroyed," the administration had difficulty speaking with one voice in the first hours and days after the incident.

Reagan's first reaction to the Soviet attack was low-key. Hersh writes: "Reagan felt no immediate need to denounce the Soviets or in some other way to seek vengeance. . . . He didn't have to prove that he could stand up to the Soviets."

This initial low-key response soon gave way to a cacophony of aides and bureaucrats expressing indignation and urging reprisals.

WASHINGTON — It started as just another episode in the covert battle between rival intelligence services over the rules of the "spy game" and suddenly mushroomed into a confrontation of major diplomatic proportions that neither side apparently wanted or anticipated.

With no show of concern for the possible political fallout on pre-summit jockeying, the FBI on Aug. 23 arrested Gennadi Zakharov, a low-level Soviet spy recruiter winding up a four-year tour of duty with the United Nations in New York. He was jailed without bail and charged with espionage after taking three classified documents from an FBI collaborator he had been cultivating as a source.

A week later, the Soviets retaliated, acting with apparent symmetry, by seizing and imprisoning American correspondent Nicholas Danilooff, who was ending a 5-year stint in Moscow for U.S. News &

World Report. Danilooff was surrounded by KGB agents moments after he was handed an envelope containing two films marked "secret" by a Russian he thought was a friend.

In the ensuing two weeks, the Reagan administration issued a series of muddled and sometimes conflicting statements about its reaction to Danilooff's arrest and what it intended to do.

At first, it did not rule out the possibility of some kind of deal, then rejected any trade, but finally accepted equal treatment as "an interim step." On Friday, both Danilooff and Zakharov were released into custody of their respective ambassadors.

By accepting the Soviet suggestion to release both men, the Reagan administration has temporarily defused the tension. But its handling of the issue has evoked a torrent of criticism from allies as

well as foes on Capitol Hill, with conservatives inside and outside the administration charging it has sold out on the president's own promise of "no trade," or will do so if it cannot win Danilooff's freedom without a trade for Zakharov.

"Could you imagine what we (conservatives) would be doing if Jimmy Carter had done this?" remarked one Reagan political appointee Saturday. "Impeachment would be too easy."

Initially, the two nation's security services, the FBI and the KGB, appeared to be calling the shots. In the U.S. top political ladders were either on vacation or apparently unaware decisions were being taken that clearly might upset the larger U.S.-Soviet relationship; the same may have been true in Moscow.

After embarrassment over the Walker family spy ring, the mishandling last fall of the Soviet defector Vitali Yurchenko, a KGB agent who defected and then went back home, and then the defection of ex-CIA agent Edward L. Howard to the Soviets, the Reagan administration and particularly the FBI was under considerable pressure to recoup against the Soviets.

One well-publicized response was the FBI's apprehension early this summer of the Soviet spy attaché here as he was caught in the act of picking up classified documents. He was quickly expelled.

The arrest of Zakharov, remarked one Senate intelligence committee source, was "done for domestic consumption to show we are really doing something and the United States is on top of this spy thing."

Now President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev have asserted personal control. Reagan is clearly seeking to limit the diplomatic impact of the arrests on pre-summit diplomacy, and Soviet spokesmen say repeatedly they consider the arrests a minor matter. But the secret war between rival secret services continues, with the release of the two men temporarily caught up in that diplomacy.

By all accounts, the decision to have the FBI hand Zakharov a package of classified documents and then arrest him after three years of surveillance was handled as a routine matter. There was no inter-agency disagreement or hesitation over the action, and the officials involved recognized that some form of Soviet retaliation was likely, according to administration officials.

There appears to have been no discussion about implications of jailing Zakharov, apparently a key step in the eyes of the Soviets, which Justice Department sources said was handled under a Reagan administration policy that all East bloc citizens arrested for espionage be held without bail.

Zakharov's lawyer later complained that this was a brook with past precedent in the handling of such cases.

Administration officials insist the decision to arrest Zakharov was approved at a "very high level" within the government, as one put it, and that the inter-agency discussions prior to the decision "took into account the possibility of retaliation." "But

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(David Ignatius is an associate editor of The Washington Post.)

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Chomsky's book will not, like Dickey's, be easy fashionable reading for those who enjoy mocking the outrageous lies and limited perceptions of Reagan's Washington. But in spite of its dense prose it is rich reading for anyone trying to understand how the majority in Congress came to collude with paying for squalid criminals to mutilate and murder teachers, nurses, priests and other organising peasants in Nicaragua for the dreams of education, health and the right to work for yourself.

For a brief time out in his fractured life Moorcock lent himself to the city which gave him noisy respite, some money and these unimpeachable fresh letters. In the end he got a Hell's Angel friend to tattoo him with LA's unofficial motto: FAITH HOPE ANXIETY.

While he's writing a script and watching a friend die, his self-loathing is broken up by a maddeningly contradictory image: the street dogs howling in the night just before an earthquake, the police helicopters Vietnamizing the city by constantly circling overhead, the commercial architecture that always turns out to be a little more than something real but of a myth that was created originally in a Hollywood studio, the sun-beated yet somehow comfortably wide streets that seem to end up in yet another version of someone else's fantasy. Moorcock loves L.A. partly because it exceeds his own self-loathing and partly because it manages to be "a Midwesterner's dream of a true Midwest" and, at the same time, an extended

one who is demented to conquer". Duryodhana is constantly at odds with his wife, the Pandava, Bhishma, who has one of them for the hand of the beautiful Draupadi, sets up a game of dice in which he strips them of their fortunes and brings about their 13-year exile in a forest and eventually provokes the destruction of the earth in a titanic battle. The setting of the Western term is closer to Homer than Euripides. But Verma's production is surprisingly successful in conveying the epic arch of the story in a simple setting: a stony circle ringed by rocks and banners. For three hours (give or take the usual longer) you are kept within a world where the events are reminded that outside Western realism there is a world elsewhere.

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